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MYCENAEANS
IN EARLY LATIUM

WITH AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPENDIX BY LUCIA VAGNETTI

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

In the final paragraph of his foreword to *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Alan J.B. Wace, an eminent archaeologist who was also a specialist in ancient history, stressed the importance of Ventris' decipherment of Linear B for the study of Greek culture, and warned: 'we must guard against the facile assumptions of the past and look at everything afresh from the new point of view'.

Such words were equally valid for researchers in the domains of other civilizations of the ancient world on which the knowledge of Mycenaean language and culture could be expected to throw light — among them, in particular, the cultures of the Italian area, for which a wealth of classical traditions recalled many a migration from the eastern Mediterranean. If such stories preserved even a kernel of truth, this would imply early relations between Italy and the Aegean. At the time of the decipherment (1952), archaeological research in the Italian area had already revealed the presence of Aegean imports, whose number steadily increased in subsequent years. The written evidence available, though comparatively late, offers us ample knowledge of some tongues of ancient Italy — and above all, of Latin. It was then reasonable to expect that classical philologists would investigate whether connections with the Aegean such as those affirmed by the traditions and which could be supported by archaeological finds had left recognizable traces in the language of Rome. So far, however, research in the different fields has proceeded (and has sometimes not adequately progressed) by inbreeding in watertight compartments rather than along interdisciplinary lines. This is particularly true of specialists in Latin philology, most of whom seem to neglect the data provided by archaeology and tradition and consider Mycenaean, with respect to Latin, merely from the viewpoint of an Indo-European relationship — and not also in the light of possible cultural contacts, as the same philologists usually do with later stages of Greek. On the other hand, historians can only rely on the current views of philologists in matters of language, and for their part are wont to proceed in the footsteps of Niebuhr, considering classical traditions about early Latium as a late

poetical fiction.[1] Once this is accepted as a principle, their so-called criticism of the sources amounts to an erudite exercise in which the conclusion is bound to be equal to such a premise.

And yet, recent experiences confirm that a critical combination of tradition and linguistics may throw light on stages of Latin for which no written evidence is available. I have in mind the second volume of my work on the origins of Rome (1973), whose main basis is the tradition that considers Gabii as a centre of Greek culture in 8th-century Latium. For this reason, the book opened with a quotation from Schliemann in which he reiterates his firm confidence in the traditions of the ancients. Schliemann was in fact the first to demonstrate the essential validity of classical traditions, verifying their data by means of what could be defined as an experimental method. Schliemann's words, however, were not enough to spare me the contempt of many scholars for my straightforward reliance upon what authors like Dionysius and Plutarch were prepared to take on trust from generations of equally unsuspicious historians. An archaeologist who directed some of the systematical excavations carried out at Gabii for more than a decade (1956-67) scorned my thesis without even examining its details, which were based on linguistics and tradition, for nothing more than traces of huts similar to those on the Palatine had been detected there.[2] Less than three years after the appearance of my volume, in the wake of clandestine diggers and amateur prospectors, a section of a large cult area could be located by official archaeologists, whose excavations have already revealed important Greek elements [3] and have led some to surmise the presence of Greek craftsmen at Gabii in the 7th cent. B.C., that is to say shortly after the foundation of Rome. Should it be objected that the age of Romulus, i.e. the 8th cent. B.C., is not the 13th century during which, according to tradition, Arcadians led by Evander and his mother Carmenta would have settled on the Palatine, it will be granted that it is equally true that in this particular case we have even more data than were available at the outset for Gabii: exceptionally detailed traditions, some archaeological data, and a wide and direct knowledge of Greek written in that age (which by far surpasses our documentary knowledge of 8th-century Greek).

It is the combination of the elements offered by tradition, linguistics and archaeology that makes up the basis of a series of studies which I devoted from 1974 onwards to the Mycenaeans who are said to have settled

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[1] I may refer to the introductory chapter ('Critica del modello niebuhriano') of S. Tondo, *Profilo di storia costituzionale romana*, Milano 1980.

[2] A. Balil, *Durius*, I, Valladolid 1973, p. 399-400.

[3] M. Guaitoli - P. Zaccagni, *Studi etruschi*, XLV, 1977, p. 434-436; P. Zaccagni, *Archeologia laziale* [I], s. loc. [Roma] 1978, p. 42-46.

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Foreword

on the Palatine in the 13th century. Such studies I now present re-elaborated and enlarged in this volume. It is not for me to gauge the results, but there can be no doubt that after the entirely new vistas opened up by Ventris' decipherment we must 'look at everything afresh'. In the meantime, I have noticed with interest that an archaeologist unacquainted with my work (if not perhaps with its results) acknowledges that the recent dating of a settlement in the Forum valley to the Late Bronze Age 'enables us to draw nearer to the substantial ancient tradition about Evander's city, the city of the Arcadians, making quite a decided and important leap towards the period that tradition regarded as the moment of maximum intensity in the frequentation of the Rome area prior to Romulus' age. If we consider the connections linking tradition with definite places, we see that the seat of Carmenta and the majority of cults which were attributed to the Arcadians and Hercules (the lupercal, the Ara Maxima, the altars of Consus and Saturn) are located on the slopes of the hills and at the bottom of the valley, and appear distributed over a span — the 13th and 12th centuries — which seems to be the date that enjoys nowadays more general acceptance for the Late Bronze Age'.[4] And this is in perfect keeping with what I have maintained in my studies on Evander's settlement on the Palatine. Scholars from all fields will grant, at least, that no serious research on the prehistory of Latin is possible without an advertent combination of the data provided by linguistics, archaeology and tradition — and the Mycenaean language and culture are essential elements to be reckoned with.

Therefore, I sincerely hope that others will feel encouraged to sound the depths of Latin from this new angle. And in any event I trust I shall be spared the amiable reproach uttered by witty Avienus in the convivial atmosphere of a learned gathering: 'You want to call back to life for us words already consigned to oblivion by many centuries, almost as if you were speaking now with Evander's mother, and besides you have enticed towards that heap of words a number of distinguished persons whose memories are stocked with the fruit of their constant reading'.[5]

My text has no higher aim than to express my views in tolerable English. Two old friends and distinguished scholars, Research Professor Demetrius J. Georgacas and his wife Barbara, of the University of North Dakota, were kind enough to go through most of the typescript and certainly devoted much more time than they expected to the unpleasant and sometimes hopeless task of polishing it up. They detected many oversights

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[4] G. Colonna, *Archeologia laziale II*, s. loc. [Roma] 1979, p. 185.
[5] Macr. *sat.* 1.5.1 *tu autem proinde quasi cum matre Euandri nunc loquare, uis nobis uerba multis iam saeculis oblitterata reuocare, ad quorum congeriem praestantes quoque uiros, quorum memoriam continuus legendi usus instruit, incitasti.*

and mistakes, not only in form but also in substance. No words could adequately acknowledge my obligations towards them.

Professors José Luis Melena of La Laguna University and Salvatore Tondo of Florence University gave several chapters a thorough scrutiny, and I gratefully acknowledge their many useful suggestions.

On the imports of Aegean manufacture found in the Italian area I have had the great advantage of being able to add an up-to-date survey by Dr. Lucia Vagnetti of the Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici in Rome. Such a survey had been prepared quite independently of the present work and reproduces, with a few additions, the text of a lecture given in London in 1977; this explains certain discrepancies in our quoting practices. I am still further in her debt for much valuable assistance in the production of this book.

The transcription standards adopted by Mycenologists are not strictly followed in this volume, which should make at least easy (if not pleasant) reading for the uninitiated, too. Thus, for instance, I have omitted the word-divider, which is conventionally marked by a comma, and indicated ideograms by English words instead of Latin ones (a practice which may prove puzzling when the Latin words are abbreviated).

Vowel quantities are marked only where needed. Latin and Greek texts are accompanied by a translation which tries to follow them as closely as possible and provides in more than one case my own interpretation of the original.

I list hereunder my previous studies on Mycenaeans in early Latium,[6] some of which will be quoted in the present volume by abbreviating their title as follows:

Micenei   'I micenei sul Palatino', *La parola del passato*, XXIX, 1974, fasc. 158-159, Napoli 1975, p. 309-349;

Prestiti   'Prestiti micenei in latino', *Studi urbinati di storia, filosofia e letteratura*, XLVII, n.s. B, 1973, Supplemento linguistico 1, Urbino 1975, p. 7-60;

Agricoltura   'Agricoltura micenea nel Lazio', *Minos*, XIV, 1973, fasc. 1-2, Salamanca 1975, p. 164-187;

'Etimologie latine', *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, CIII, 1975, fasc. 3, Torino 1975, p. 257-275;

'Τήβεννα', *Euphrosyne*, n.s. VII, 1975-1976, Lisboa 1976, p. 137-143;

'Appunti di etimologia latina', *Euphrosyne*, n.s. VIII, Lisboa 1977, p. 178-181;

Antichità   'Lat. *clāuis*', *Antichità cretesi*, I, Catania 1978, p. 209-212;

'An Etymology between Pylos and Gabii', *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*, XIX, Roma 1978, p. 49-61;

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[6] Summaries of these studies will be found in 'Mycenaean Culture in Latium', *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (Travaux du VIᵉ Congrès International d'Etudes Classiques, Madrid, Septembre 1974), Bucureşti-Paris 1976, p. 175-180; 'Mikenskie jazykovye èlementy v latyni', *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, N° 5, 1975, Moskva 1976, p. 104-109; 'I greci e le lingue del Lazio primitivo', *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*, VI, Roma s.a. [1978], p. 487-503.

Aspetti   *Aspetti culturali del Lazio primitivo* (Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', Studi XLVII), Firenze, Olschki, 1978;

Furrow   'Romulus' Furrow', *La parola del passato*, XXXV, 1980, Napoli 1980 (forthcoming).

Other studies of mine referred to are:

Origini   *Origini di Roma*, I, Bologna, Pàtron, 1970; II, Bologna, Pàtron, 1973;

Sabinismi   'Sabinismi dell'età regia', *La parola del passato*, XXII, Napoli 1967, fasc. 112, p. 29-45.

In quoting M. Ventris - J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, first edition (Cambridge 1956) and second edition (Cambridge 1973) are distinguished by *Documents* and *Documents*[2] so as to enable readers to see immediately whether I refer to the text of both authors or to Chadwick's additional commentary. Etymological dictionaries are quoted by mentioning only the name of the authors (thus: Chantraine, Ernout-Meillet, Frisk, Walde-Hofmann).

I

THE ANCIENT SOURCES

§ 1. Strabo writes that the story of Romulus is 'the most credited tradition on the origins of Rome', but adds that 'another one, going back to earlier and fabulous times, says that it was an Arcadian colony founded by Evander'[1].

This settlement on the Palatine was said to have been founded by a small group who left Pallanteion, a town near Tegea and the Argolic boundary (p. 3 Fig. 1), as Dionysius relates, 'about the sixtieth year before the Trojan war, as the Romans themselves say'[2] — which means, according to the chronology of Eratosthenes followed by Dionysius[3], about 1252 B.C. (the fall of Troy after a nine-year siege was placed by Eratosthenes in 1183 B.C.). The date recorded by the tradition is not far from the figure we get if the sixty years are reckoned back from 1250 B.C. as an approximate date for the destruction of Troy VIIA[4].

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[1] Str. 5.3.2-3 αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ μάλιστα πιστευομένη τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσις ἐστίν. ἄλλη δέ τις προτέρα καὶ μυθώδης, Ἀρκαδικὴν λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν ὑπ' Εὐάνδρου.

[2] Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 στόλος ἄλλος Ἑλληνικὸς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας κατάγεται, ἑξηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν, and cf. Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.1 *ante annos circiter sexaginta, quam Aeneas in Italiam deferretur, Euander ... eodem uenit* 'about sixty years before Aeneas sailed to Italy, Evander came there'.

[3] Dion. Hal. 1.74.2.

[4] And there is practically no difference if those sixty years had been calculated by the Arcadians according to their three-month year (§ 7) and amounted only to fifteen years by our own time-reckoning. As to the dates suggested by the ancients and the moderns for the destruction of Troy VIIA see e.g. C.W. Blegen, *Troy*, IV.1, Princeton 1958, p. 10-13, and G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Myc. Age*, Princeton 1966, p. 216; further references in J.D. Muhly, *Historia*, XXIII, 1974, p. 129-131.

The Arcadians occupied a midland region of the Peloponnesus, between Elis and Messenia in the west and Argolis in the east. The traditional date of their migration into Latium coincides with the period of the Mycenaean archives of Pylos in Messenia and the Linear-B texts of Mycenae and Tiryns in Argolis, all written in a language whose inmost feature is its essential uniformity throughout the Mycenaean world, and which is closer to Arcado-Cyprian than to any other historic Greek dialect.

Therefore, the chronological and geographical data offered by the tradition imply that the settlers on the Palatine should have come from an area whose language and culture we do know — namely the Mycenaean world [5].

Moreover, however such remnants may be evaluated, the traditional date of the Arcadian migration tallies with that of fragments of Mycenaean pottery found in Latium, at Luni sul Mignone (p. 151 f.), some of which 'can be attributed with a high degree of certainty to the period Myc. IIIB' (1300-1200 B.C., see the chronological table on p. 165) [6].

In recent years, the possibility of the presence of Mycenaeans in Central Italy has been raised not by those fragments, generally regarded of little or no significance, but rather by the ever increasing number of archaeological finds that prove an intense association of the Mycenaeans with Southern Italy, the Aeolian islands and Sicily (p. 167 Fig. 11), and are also leading to a re-evaluation of ancient traditions previously dismissed as mere fiction. No one, however, seems to have considered the tradition about Evander worthy of renewed examination.

§ 2. The possible influence of Mycenaeans in Latium can be investigated by the combination of three elements: (1) archaeological finds, (2) an-

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[5] It had been assumed that the Pylian kingdom extended its influence north-eastwards deeply inside Arcadia, too, for place-names in the Pylos tablets were identified with Arcadian toponyms (see e.g. J. Kerschensteiner, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwiss.*, IX, 1956, p. 50-52). Such identifications are now abandoned as improbable (see e.g. Chadwick, *Documents*[2], p. 415-416), and in any event are unprovable. However, the Pylians are likely to have controlled parts of Arcadia not far from Pallanteion, as also Chadwick admits: 'There is no evidence that any place names on the Pylos tablets are to be located within the historical frontiers of Arcadia. At the same time, I cannot see any reason why the Pylians should not have occupied the extreme south-western fringe of Arcadia, so as to control the few passes leading into Messenia' (*Minos*, XVI, 1977, p. 226). R. Hope Simpson, *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Myc. Sites*, London 1965, p. 41, points out the increasing evidence of Mycenaean occupation of Western Arcadia in the LH IIIA-B period.

[6] C.E. Östenberg, *Luni sul Mignone*, Lund 1967, p. 128-151; two fragments, 'con alto grado di certezza, possono attribuirsi al IIIB' (p. 144), and another fragment should be dated between Myc. IIIA.2 and the end of Myc. IIIB.
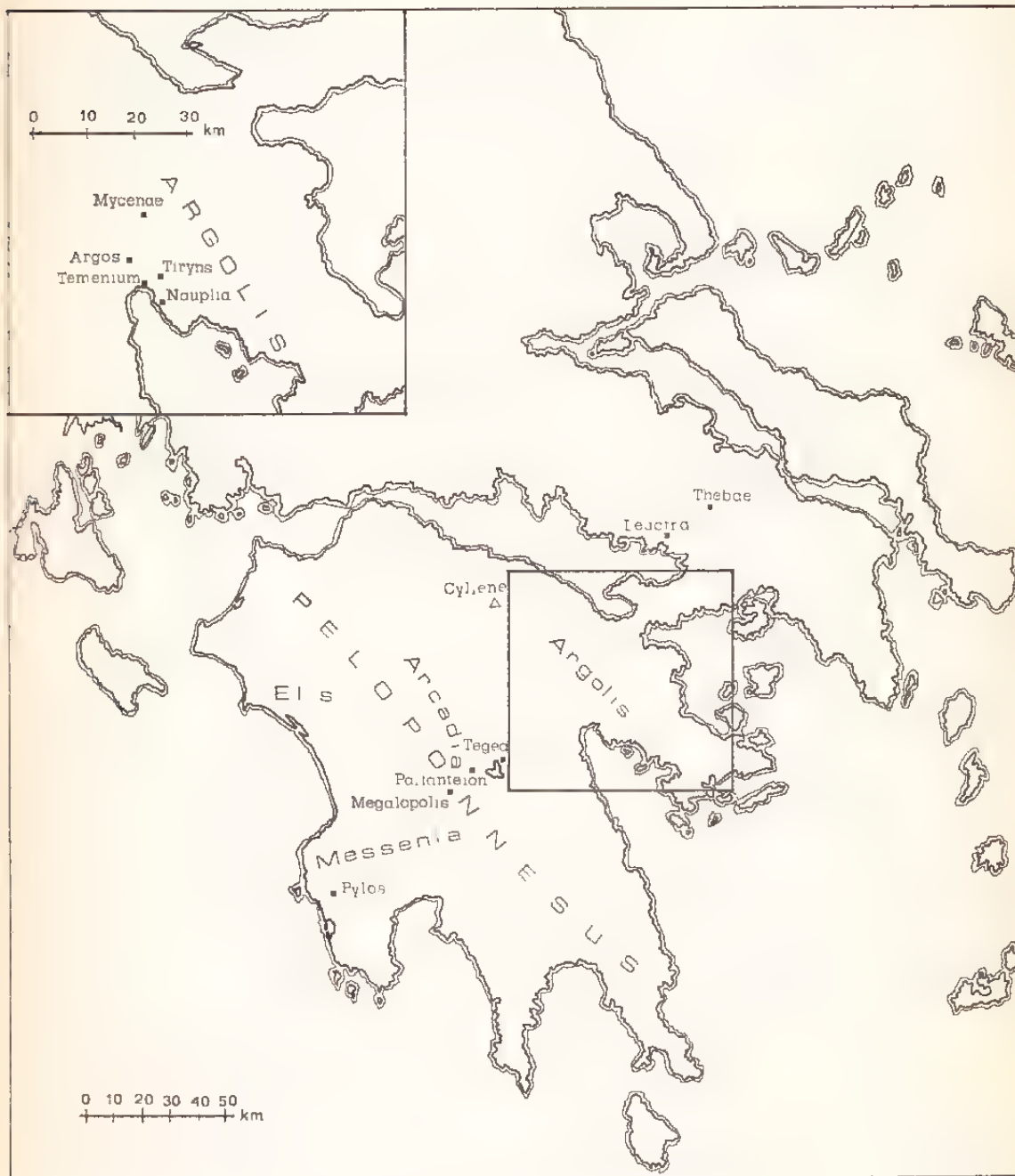
Fig. 1. Map of Messenia, Arcadia and Argolis.

cient traditions, and (3) linguistic data. None of these elements, alone, has a probative value.

In principle, archaeological finds could be sufficient to solve the problem, but the scanty Mycenaean sherds that have come to light in Latium thus far are inadequate. They may be the faint traces of direct connections or, at the opposite extreme, could be the chance result of hand-to-hand trade. They are dealt with in Appendix II, p. 151 ff.

The criticism of traditions may reveal their unreliability — which cannot stem from an aprioristic assumption of their falsehood, but must be the result of a demonstration of their intrinsic inconsistency or an equally convincing demonstration of their origin as aetiological constructions. Conversely, however, criticism will never prove their reliability, even though it may reveal their internal coherence: the consistency of all details is a prerequisite of any reliable and well-preserved tradition, of course, but is also a feature of the well-constructed legend.

Under such circumstances, linguistic elements are intrinsically more conclusive, provided they fit a cultural context — namely, in combination with other data.

In fact, a Graecism of Latin which has an exact correspondence in Mycenaean and cannot be connected with alphabetic Greek [7] may be regarded, in principle, as a possible Mycenaean element in the tongue of Rome. However, such borrowings have complicated histories that it is not always possible to reconstruct. What looks formally to be a Mycenaean element in Latin may come from an undocumented stage of later Greek, or may be a form of the alphabetic Greek we know but filtered and defaced through unknown intermediaries.

Therefore, merely linguistic correspondences pose a problem rather than provide a demonstration. In order to constitute a proof, the individual element involved must belong to a set of homogeneous linguistic elements (e.g. pertaining to the same semantic field, or showing the same abnormal sound development, etc.) and must also fit a definite cultural picture, which, at present, can hardly be offered by the few and debatable sherds unearthed in Latium but rather by the traditions of the ancients. In other words, it must be the linguistic aspect of a definite tradition.

Thus, as long as adequate archaeological evidence is lacking, the problem of Mycenaean influence in Latium can be clarified only by the combination of modern linguistics and the traditions recorded by the ancients — which,

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[7] For convenience's sake I shall call 'alphabetic' the Greek documented in texts written in a script other than Linear B, but such an attribute, strictly speaking, has more a chronological than a graphic meaning in view of the use of the syllabic script for Greek in Cyprus until the end of the 3rd cent. B.C.

the very moment they reveal themselves as truthful written sources, would become historical documents. Linguistics and tradition are the two inter-dependent constituents of one and the same process of enquiry.

§ 3. We shall examine in the first place the classical traditions about Evander. The only aim of our analysis is to ascertain whether they are internally coherent, for the lack of intrinsic consistency would entail their rejection. A consistent tradition, however, is not *ipso facto* a truthful one. Therefore, once its coherence has been established, the individual constituents that make it up will have to be tested by and combined with elements of another description — namely, the data offered by Latin and Mycenaean linguistics, archaeology, and culture.

Bayet, though regarding Evander as a fabulous figure, noticed that a striking feature of the story about the Arcadian ancestors of Rome is the fact that it was thoroughly disinterested: it served no purpose and nobody. The so-called genealogists were admittedly constructors rather than reconstructors of pedigrees [8] — and yet they made no use of it either. The annalists traced Rome back to a Graeco-Trojan ancestry without the intermediation of the Arcadian refugees from Pallanteion. However, Bayet had to admit, 'the Arcadian legend survived and throve, and therefore it must be studied not as an artificial construction of the annalists, and contains factual elements other than the wish to flatter the Roman people' [9].

Indeed, while most critics discard this tradition as a worthless produce of idle erudition, the fact has also been stressed that the district of Pallanteion was a patch measuring only 6 km. from north to south by 5 km. from east to west, whose inhabitants had been deported for the most part to Megalopolis some time after the battle of Leuctra, i.e. about 370 B.C. Therefore, in the 3rd-1st centuries Pallanteion was a hamlet devoid of any political or religious importance, to which neither Roman nor Greek would have had any reason to trace back the origins of Rome [10].

The tradition about Evander is not significant either for Greek or Roman historians. It cannot be of aetiological origin nor may it have undergone an aetiological re-elaboration for the ancients did not use it to explain any important aspect of their history and culture. This amounts to saying that there

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[8] See e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 16.62.
[9] J. Bayet, *Mél. Éc. Fr. Rome*, XXXVIII, 1920, p. 64-65.
[10] O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, München 1906, p. 203-204, E. Meyer, *PWRE*, XVIII.3, col. 232-233. Thus far, excavations at Pallanteion have not revealed any prehistoric settlement, apart two burials that might belong to Middle Helladic times (G. Libertini, *Ann. Sc. Arch. Atene*, I-II, 1939-1940, p. 227, R. Howell, *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.*, LXV, 1970, p. 94). See, however, § 13 note 113.

was no motivation whatsoever, neither among the Greeks nor in Rome, for the construction and the transmission of an Arcadian legend in Latium.

§ 4. To this general remark should be added the observation that the tradition contains an essential and specific element which would have never occurred to the imagination of a story-teller (and from which originates one of the objections the moderns level at the classical sources): Arcadia as the point of departure for a long transmarine migration bound for Latium.

Pausanias remarks that, in Greece, 'the Arcadians inhabit the interior, shut off from the sea on every side; wherefore Homer, too, says they came to Troy in vessels lent by Agamemnon and not on their own ships' [11].

In fact, the 'catalogue of ships' [12] has it that warriors from all parts of Arcadia embarked on sixty Argive vessels, 'for of himself the king of men Agamemnon, son of Atreus, had given them well-benched ships to cross the wine-dark sea, since they had no experience in seafaring' [13]. Wherefore Vico wondered: 'how then from Arcadia, an inland region of Greece, shepherds, who by nature know naught of the sea, crossed so vast a stretch of water and penetrated into the heart of Latium, while Ancus Marcius, the third king after Romulus, was the first to conduct a colony to the seashore near-by?' [14].

The inhabitants of Arcadia, 'a mountainous province in the centre of the Peloponnesus, the Greek Switzerland', as a modern dictionary calls it [15], certainly voyaged in the same way as the Swiss who crossed the Ocean to migrate to America. That is to say, not using their own fleet, for Arcadia had no access to the sea, but on alien ships, namely those of the Argives. And in fact, a glance at the map of ancient Greece (Fig. 1) shows that for the Arcadians the nearest foreign town of importance close to the sea was precisely the capital of Argolis, with its two harbours which provided the only ports of call along a marshy shore, viz. the small port of Temenium only twenty-six stades from Argos, and, somewhat farther, Nauplia: 'Temenium lies above the sea at a distance of twenty-six stades [c. 38 km.] from Argos, and from Argos to Heraeum it is forty stades [c. 59 km.], and from there to Mycenae ten [c. 15 km.]. After Temenium, there is Nauplia, the harbour of the Argives;

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[11] Paus. 8.1.3 Ἀρκάδες τὸ ἐντὸς οἰκοῦσιν ἀποκλειόμενοι θαλάσσης πανταχόθεν· ὅθεν σφᾶς καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐς Τροίαν παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος πλοῖα εἰληφότας καὶ οὐχὶ ναυσὶν οἰκείαις.

[12] Perhaps of Mycenaean origin, see S. Hiller, *Studien zur Geogr. des Reiches um Pylos*, Wien 1972, p. 197 ff.

[13] *Il.* 2.612-614 αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων | νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον | Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπεὶ οὔ σφι θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.

[14] *Principj di scienza nuova*, sect. 771; cf. Liv. 35.26.4 *rudis in re nauali erat, Arcas, mediterraneus homo* 'inexperienced in naval warfare, being an Arcadian, an inlander'.

[15] Lewis-Short, p. 153.

the true sense of its name derives from the fact that the place is accessible to ships' [16].

It is significant that just as Homer has it that the Arcadians embark for Troy on a squadron provided by the king of Argos, the Arcadians led by Evander also sail for Latium on Argive vessels according to the tradition, which, besides, even preserves the name of the shipmaster in charge of the expedition: *Catillus* [17].

Solinus relates that an ancient town of Latium, 'Tibur, as attested by Cato, was founded by the Arcadian Catillus, the commander of Evander's fleet, or, according to Sextius [an otherwise unknown author], by Argive youths. In fact Catillus, son of Amphiaraus, after the portentous death of his father at Thebes, by order of his grandfather Oecleus was sent forth as a sacrifice with all the youth (*uer sacrum*) [18], and begot in Italy three sons, Tiburtus, Coras and Catillus, who drove out the ancient Sicanians from a town in the territory of the Siculians and named the place after their eldest brother Tiburtus' [19].

Tradition, then, is positive about the presence of Argives in Evander's group [20]. In fact, Solinus himself, though calling Catillus an Arcadian, implies that he was of Argive stock, being a son of Amphiaraus, king of Argos. This is consistent with Verg. *Aen.* 7.672, who calls Catillus' sons *Argiua iuuentus* 'Argive youths', and with the whole tradition about the Argive character of Tibur, a town those youngsters either founded or conquered from previous inhabitants.

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[16] Str. 8.6.2 τὸ δὲ Τημένιον ἀπέχει τοῦ Ἄργους ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἄργους εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον τεσσαράκοντα, ἔνθεν δὲ εἰς Μυκήνας δέκα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Τημένιον ἡ Ναυπλία, τὸ τῶν Ἀργείων ναύσταθμον· τὸ δ' ἔτυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπλεῖσθαι.

[17] *Cătīl(l)us* Verg. *Aen.* 7.672, Hor. *carm.* 1.18.2; *Căt-* Stat. *silu.* 1.3.100 (presumably by analogy with *catillus*, a bowl or dish, < κότυλος, *Aspetti*, p. 155-156). The name is uninterpretable and almost unique (Paus. 6.19.6 mentions an artist Πατροκλέα Κατίλλου Κροτωνιάτην).

[18] In time of famine Italian communities (but also others, including Greek ones) vowed to sacrifice all creatures who should be born in the spring, and while animals were sacrificed, the human beings, when grown up, were driven out of the country and might go where they would and found a new settlement.

[19] Solin. 2.7-8 (on the foundation of Tibur) *Tibur, sicut Cato* [fragm. 56 Peter] *facit testimonium, a Catillo Arcade praefecto classis Euandri; sicut Sextius, ab Argiua iuuentute. Catillus enim Amphiarai filius, post prodigialem patris apud Thebas interitum, Oeclei aui iussu cum omni fetu uer sacrum missus tres liberos in Italia procreauit, Tiburtum Coram Catillum* [cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.670-672], *qui depulsis ex oppido Siciliae ueteribus Sicanis a nomine Tiburti fratris natu maximi urbem uocauerunt*; on the Siculians of Tibur see S. Weinstock, *PWRE*, VIA.1, col. 817.17-59. A slight variant of this tradition related by Plin. *n.h.* 16.237 is equally univocal about the Argive character of Tibur.

[20] Tradition recalled that other Argives joined later: Verg. *Aen.* 10.779-780 *Herculis*

Should it be objected that 'the Arcadians held the Argives also as their enemies because of their proximity'[21], one could surmise that just because of that enmity Evander's uprising might have been fostered or at least approved of by the Argives, since it is from them that he obtains the means to sail for Italy. However, this hypothesis is superfluous, as there is no lack of evidence for joint ventures of Arcadians and Argives beyond the seas[22]. Indeed, Solinus' mention of a sacrifice made on a critical occasion might mean that the dearth which ultimately drove Evander into exile affected not only Pallanteion, but Argos too, and that actually the Arcadians joined a larger group of Argives.

§ 5. While the starting point of Evander's Arcadians makes their story a *traditio difficilior*, indeed *difficillima*, and therefore not very likely to be the result of pure fiction, the point of arrival is thoroughly plausible — and (another fact worth being stressed) for reasons far more practical than those surmised by the ancients, who were unacquainted with the rôle of the Rome district in prehistoric trade.

It goes without saying that such migrations, unless circumstances made them stray off their appointed course, were usually bound for known regions[23]. Again, Evander probably landed in a region neither unfamiliar nor hostile to

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Antorem comitem, qui missus ab Argis | haeserat Euandro atque Itala consederat urbe 'Antores, a companion of Hercules, who, sent from Argos, had cloven to Evander and settled in an Italian town', Dion. Hal. 1.34.1 ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι μετὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἄλλος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνεῖται στόλος Ἑλληνικὸς ἄγοντος Ἡρακλέους 'a few years after the Arcadians another Greek expedition came into Italy led by Heracles' etc.

[21] Plut. *mor.* 272b-c — a passage, however, which does not say that this was the cause of their migration, as some moderns assume (e.g. J. Escher-Bürkli, *PWRE*, VI.1, col. 841.9-11).

[22] For a joint migration to Cyprus in the Bronze Age see H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, p. 50-51, and cf. K. Spyridakis, *Acts of the Internat. Arch. Symposium 'The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Medit.'*, Nicosia 1973, p. 62-67. Specific connections between Argos and Pallanteion are attested only as late as the 4th-3rd cent. B.C. by an Argive decree found at Pallanteion (M. Guarducci, *Ann. Sc. Arch. Atene*, III-V, 1941-1943, p. 141-151).

[23] It has often been noticed that the first Greek settlements in Southern Italy, namely Pithekoussai and Cumae, are also the most remote from the mother country. Therefore, they were not founded once those sites became within easy reach in the process of the Greek westward expansion but because they were already known as key points for trading operations. See e.g. T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, p. 3 ff. It is irrelevant for our purpose whether Pithekoussai may not have been a *polis* like Cumae but simply a trading station, as suggested by G. Bartoloni and F. Cordano, *Par. Pass.*, XXXIII, 1978, p. 321 ff.

Mycenaean sailors [24]. In fact, the local king, 'Faunus, having received the Arcadians, who were few in number, with great friendship, gives them as much of his own land as they desired' [25] around the Palatine hill.

This was a place the indigenous Aborigines had already relinquished: 'no one will doubt that the Palatine is a foundation of the Arcadians who first built the town of Pallanteum; the hill had been inhabited for some time by the Aborigines, who afterwards left it and moved to Reate on account of the inconvenient proximity of a swamp created by the Tiber flowing near-by' [26]. According to others, the Palatine is an area the local inhabitants surrender to the newcomers, not without some skirmish: 'Evander got hold of the place having driven out the Aborigines' [27].

One must not overlook the fact that Evander is said to have followed the advice of his prophetess mother: 'the Greeks and the writers of the early history of Rome agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, fore-told to the people in song the things that were destined to happen' [28].

Mantic power, though, was not only divination of the future but also practical knowledge of things past and present. Evander's mother might already have known about the place called *Palatium* and regarded its name as auspicious (§ 8).

Tradition has it that the newcomers settle on the *Palatium* because 'there the land provided plenty of grass not only in the winter season but also for summer pastures, thanks to the rivers that refresh and water it' [29]. However, if there ever was an Arcadian settlement there, we must look for some more specific motivation.

The importance of the area may be gauged from the layout of the later

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[24] Tradition recalls an earlier migration to Latium of an Arcadian tribe, the Oeno-trians (whose descendants were the Aborigines), who had voluntarily left home and a group of whom, consisting of youths consecrated to the gods according to the local custom (a practice clearly akin to the *uer sacrum*, see § 4 note 18), reached Latium from a previous settlement between Tarentum and Posidonia; see e.g. Dion. Hal. 2.1.2, 1.11.2/13.4, 1.89.1, 1.60.3.

[25] Dion. Hal. 1.31.2 Φαῦνος... δεξάμενος κατὰ πολλὴν φιλότητα τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὀλίγους ὄντας, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὑτοῦ χώρας ὁπόσην ἐβούλοντο, cf. 1.89.2, Just. 43.1.6, Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.3.

[26] Solin. 1.14 *Palatium nemo dubitauerit quin Arcadas habeat auctores, a quibus primum Pallanteum oppidum conditum: quod aliquamdiu Aborigines habitarunt, propter incommodum uicinae paludis, quam praeterfluens Tiberis fecerat, profecti Reate post-modum reliquerunt.*

[27] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.51 *Euander... pulsis Aboriginibus tenuit loca.*

[28] Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 quoted § 10 note 79; cf. Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.3.

[29] Dion. Hal. 2.2.1 ἄφθονον ἀναδιδούσης πόαν τῆς αὐτόθι γῆς οὐ μόνον τὴν χειμε-ρινήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θερεινόμον διὰ τοὺς ἀναψύχοντάς τε καὶ κατάρδοντας αὐτὴν πο-ταμούς.

uia Salaria — the 'salt way', by which the Sabines fetched salt from the coast (Fig. 2) [30]. It started from the *porta Collina*, a gate near the Quirinal hill, and penetrated for a short way [31] into Sabine territory towards Reate [32]. It
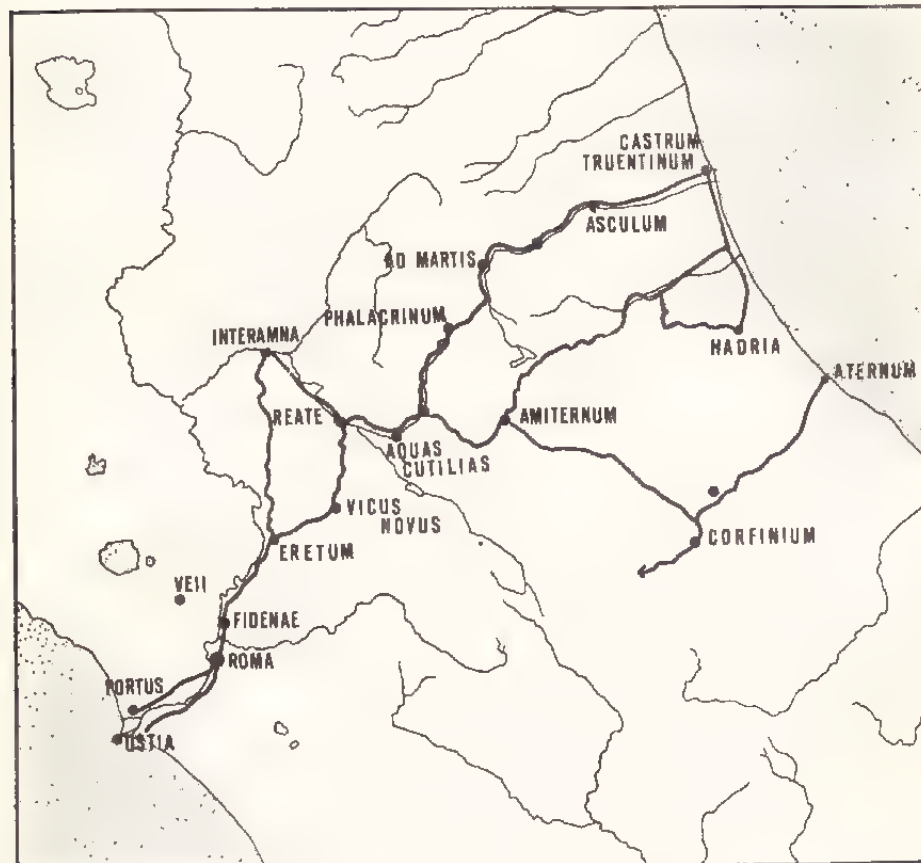
Fig. 2. The Via Salaria in historic times.

[30] Paul. Fest. p. 437.4-5 *Salaria uia Romae est appellata, quia per eam Sabini sal a mari deferebant* 'Salaria was called a road of Rome, for by it the Sabines imported salt from the sea', Plin. *n.h.* 31.89 *sicut apparet ex nomine Salariae uiae, quoniam illa salem in Sabinos portari conuenerat* 'as is clear from the name of the Salarian Way, since by it, according to agreement, salt was imported to the Sabines'. The passage of Pliny as well as that of Festus which Paulus epitomizes (Fest. p. 436.12-13]*ut liceret* [   ]*em portari* 'in order that the import of salt be permitted') clearly refer to some treaty regulating

certainly followed the route which had linked the Rome area with that Sabine town since time immemorial, for tradition recalls a migratory connection between the Palatine hill and the Reatine district in the age of the Aborigines [33].

It is often held 'probable that there existed a continuation of the *uia Salaria*, which is perhaps the most ancient of the Roman high-roads, for it is obvious, at least when justifying its name, that it reached the salt-works by the Tiber's mouth, to wit those works tradition attributes to Ancus Marcius'[34]. Classical sources, however, do not substantiate such a surmise. They say that salt was fetched by the *uia Salaria* but do not state that that road reached the sea — which seems ruled out by toponomastics: should it have originally extended to the Tyrrhenian, with all the more reason would the leg of the journey from the salt-works to Rome and vice versa have been called *uia Salaria*. On the contrary, the road which linked the city with the seashore along the left bank of the Tiber was called *uia Ostiensis* (a name either derived from *ostium* 'river's mouth' or subsequent to the founding of the port of Ostia by Ancus Marcius), the parallel way on the right bank was called *uia Portuensis* (i.e. 'leading to the port') or *Campana*.

There had been salt-works at the mouth of the Tiber before those Livy attributes to Ancus Marcius [35]. This king either built new works in addition to already existing ones or established a system of pools and tanks where up to then only the deposits obtained by natural evaporation were exploited. In fact, we know of salt-works there in the time of Romulus, who took them from the Etruscan nation of the Veientes [36], who, in turn, tried to recover them by force from Ancus Marcius [37].

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the import of salt, a precious product on which the Veientes first and then the Romans exerted a monopoly (see notes 36 and 37)

[31] Str. 5.3.1 ἥ τε Σαλαρία ὁδὸς οὐ πολλὴ οὖσα 'the Salarian Way, which does not run far'.

[32] P. Vatinius, a man of the Reatine district bound for Rome, had a vision on the *uia Salaria* (V. Max. 1.8.1, Cic. *n.d.* 3.5.11); Suet. *Vesp.* 12 recalls *conantis quosdam originem Flauii generis ad conditores Reatinos comitemque Herculis, cuius monimentum exstat Salaria uia, referre* 'certain men trying to trace the origin of the Flavian family to the founders of Reate and a companion of Hercules whose tomb still stands on the Salarian Way'.

[33] Solin. 1.14 quoted above, note 26; Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.53 quoted § 8 note 58.

[34] G. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia*, I, Roma 1953, p. 64.

[35] Liv. 1.33.9 *in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae* 'at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, salt-works were established near-by'.

[36] Dion. Hal. 2.55.5 relates that around 724 B.C. the Veientes sought an end to the war and Romulus, among other conditions, imposed upon them τῶν ἁλῶν ἀποστῆναι τῶν παρὰ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ 'to abandon the salt-works near the mouth of the river' Tiber (on the date see *Origini*, II, p. 102, and on the treaty see *ibid.*, p. 93 ff.).

[37] Dion. Hal. 3.41.3.

As Dionysius specifies, before Ancus there was no port at the Tiber's mouth, and vessels (including the large ones for transmarine voyages) went up the river as far as the Rome area [38]. This was well known to the ancients, so that Evander's story, whether fact or fiction, did not depict him landing on the seashore: 'Evander, cheered by his parent's words, ploughs the waves with his ship and reaches the Hesperian land. And at last, at sage Carmentis' bidding, he had steered his bark into a river and was stemming the Etruscan stream' [39].

This place certainly acted as a trading-station for the hinterland, and the Sabines were linked with it by the route followed in historic times by the *uia Salaria* — which explains why this name applied only to the road starting from Rome towards Reate [40].

To this *emporion*, in the sailing season, the Mycenaean could come faring over the wine-dark sea to trade with men of strange speech; here perhaps dwelt his *compradores*; hence merchants took salt and the taste of the good things from beyond the sea to the inland regions.

The rôle played by the area where Rome was later to be founded would not only explain why the site could have been known to Mycenaean sailors but would also warrant that, if Arcadians ever settled on the Palatine, they could spread their superior civilization from there to other districts, presumably among the Albans and the Sabines, perhaps more receptive than the Aborigines. In fact, some haphazard traces of lost traditions seem to point to Arcadian settlements also in the Latial hinterland (as well as farther north in Etruria) [41]. Alba Longa boasted some Arcadian ascendancy: 'the Albans were a mixed nation composed of Pelasgians, Arcadians, Epeans who came from Elis, and, last of all, the Trojans who came into Italy after the taking of Troy' [42]. Faustulus, an Alban official on the Palatine in Romulus' age, 'is

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[38] Dion. Hal. 3.44.

[39] Ov. *fast.* 1.497-500 *uocibus Euander firmata mente parentis | naue secat fluctus Hesperiamque tenet. | iamque ratem doctae monitu Carmentis in amnem | egerat et Tuscis obuius ibat aquis.*

[40] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I.1, Berlin 1878, p. 430 431, remarks that 'it is topographically important that the "salt way" begins not in Ostia but at Rome, and that in Rome, at the site where the river flows *out* of the city limits, at the *porta Trigemina*, the salt storehouses (*salinae*) were located. We must infer that salt produced near Ostia was transported by water up to the town, was stored there, and thence carried further by land'.

[41] See Appendix I, p. 137 ff.

[42] Dion. Hal. 2.2.2 γένος δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν μικτὸν ἦν ἔκ τε Πελασγῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἐπειῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἤλιδος ἐλθόντων, τελευταίων δὲ τῶν μετ' Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἀφικομένων εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρώων.

said to have been of Arcadian extraction, descending from those who came with Evander' [43].

This could perhaps account for the fact that some of the Mycenaean elements we shall detect in Latin seem to have been filtered through a Sabine tradition (§ 22). The Aborigines might also have gotten later what they could not assimilate directly from the Arcadian colony on the Palatine hill.

§ 6. Group migrations are prompted by economical or political reasons, and often both motives are connected. The people leaving Pallanteion are no exception.

Modern critics stress the inconsistency of this tradition in that it attributes the Arcadian migration to different circumstances, namely a rebellion or famine [44]. However, such causes, far from proving incompatible, may be but coherent details of one and the same picture.

As the story goes, Evander leaves home after an unsuccessful uprising: 'this expedition was not sent out by the common consent of the nation, but, strife having arisen among the people, the faction which was defeated went into voluntary exile' [45]. In that sedition, 'Evander has murdered his father at the instigation of his own mother Nicostrate' [46], who thus joins her son in the exile. And since dire need often begets upheaval, that revolt is not inconsistent with the motive related by Eustathius, if it concerns Evander's group: in Italy, 'after the Tyrrhenians there are the Pelasgians, who, urged by poverty to migrate in various directions, came also here, far from Cyllene in Arcadia, and established a colony under the leadership of Evander, who, while Agamedes son of Stymphalus ruled in Arcadia, is said to have heeded his inspired mother, and assembled people, and having arrived there he settled down after establishing a temple to Pan and fortifying the hill' [47].

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[43] Dion. Hal. 1.84.3 τὸν δὲ Φαυστύλον τοῦτον Ἀρκάδα μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ. On Faustulus' rank see *Origini*, I, p. 49 note 1, II, p. 14, and cf. on his wife's station *Scritti in on. di G. Bonfante*, II, Brescia s.a. [1976], p. 673 ff.

[44] See e.g. J. Escher - Bürkli, *PWRE*, VI.1, col. 841.9 16.

[45] Dion. Hal. 1.31.2 ὁ δὲ στόλος οὗτος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἐπέμφθη, ἀλλὰ στασιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἐλαττωθὲν μέρος ἑκούσιον ὑπεξῆλθεν; Serv. *in Aen* 8.51 *ipse autem Euander, dimissa prouincia sua exilio, non sponte, conpulsus uenit ad Italiam* 'Evander himself, left his region, came to Italy not of his own will but forced into exile'.

[46] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.51 *Euander ... patrem suum occidit, suadente matre Nicostrata.*

[47] Eust. in Dion. Per. 347 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ed. Müller, II, p. 278) ὅτι ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῖς εἰσι Πελασγοί, οἳ διὰ πενίαν σποράδες μετοικοῦντες ἦλθόν ποτε καὶ ἐκεῖ, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Ἀρκαδίαν Κυλλήνης, καὶ ᾤκησαν Εὐάνδρου τινὸς ἡγησαμένου τῆς ἀποικίας αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀρκαδίας Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφάλου θεοφορήτῳ μητρὶ φασι πεισθεὶς καὶ λαὸν ἀγείρας καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖ κατέπαυσε, τῷ Πανὶ νεὼν ἱδρύσας καὶ λόφον ὀχυρωσάμενος. Here Eustathius seems to have mingled details about Evander

Indeed, the dearth Eustathius refers to tallies with the detail of the *uer sacrum* related by Solinus (§ 4).

As a matter of fact, dearth was regarded as a sign of divine wrath, and this may explain why Nicostrate (who thus acquits herself, too) attributes Evander's crime not to him but to a god's anger. Therefore, as a mere instrument of the celestial will, he is not guilty of parricide: 'so it was fated', chants Ovid, 'and no fault of thine but a god chased thee away; an offended god drove thee from the city; thou art not enduring a deserved punishment but a deity's ire: in great misfortunes, it is something to be unstained by crime' [48]. Nicostrate's plea sounds much like a literary addition, embroidered on the weft of the story to ennoble some shady deed of the oldest forefather of Rome — which is conclusive evidence of the fact that such disturbing incidents as his parricide were part and parcel of a well-established tradition.

According to circumstances, the extant sources relate one detail or another of a picture which the ancients knew in its entirety and we can still appreciate for its coherence, in this as well as in other parts, though we are unable to restore the whole.

§ 7. The Arcadian tradition is thoroughly plausible, with the exception of one detail which *prima facie* looks fantastic: the age of Evander's mother. And yet, once it is correctly understood, this detail proves to be further evidence of the genuineness of the tradition, for it can be explained only according to an Arcadian custom of which many ancient historians seem to have been unaware.

Servius relates that 'some authors have it that Nicostrate, Evander's mother, was murdered by her son when she was one hundred and ten years old' (and he adds, by way of justification, 'that it is well known that Arcadians were extraordinarily longeval, some of them having lived up to three hundred years') [49].

Now, the detail of Nicostrate's age, in itself, proves unobjectionable. Servius (or better, the author he draws on) overlooks that in oldest times Arcadians reckoned by a three-month year, so that their fabulous tercentenarians were only seventy-five years old (quite a remarkable age all the same,

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with others concerning a previous migration (on the Pelasgians see e.g. Dion. Hal. 1.17 ff.).

[48] Ov. *fast.* 1.481-484 *sic erat in fatis; nec te tua culpa fugauit, | sed deus; offenso pulsus es urbe deo. | non meriti poenam pateris, sed numinis iram: | est aliquid magnis crimen abesse malis.*

[49] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.51 *alii ipsam Nicostratam, matrem Euandri, cum esset centum decem annorum, a filio peremptam tradunt. constat autem Arcadas plurimum uixisse, in tantum, ut quidam usque ad trecentos annos uiuendo peruenerint.*

by the standards of the ancients). And in fact Pliny, who criticizes several such cases of alleged longevity, writes that 'Ephorus recorded Arcadian kings three hundred years old' but notes that 'all these examples were due to ignorance of chronology, because some nations calculated summer as one year and winter as another, some others reckoned as one year each one of the four seasons, for instance the Arcadians, whose years were three months long' [50].

However, the detail that Nicostrate had been killed by her son when she was one hundred and ten, i.e. at the age of twenty seven years and six months by our own calendar, sounds suspicious because it implies that Evander accomplished all his major deeds and misdeeds while he was still a boy (a feat equalled not even by Alexander the Great, who was already sixteen when he held the regency of Macedonia and subdued rebellious barbarians) [51].

All this is a matter of probability, of course (for instance, it is a fact that pope Benedict IX was elected at the age of twelve). But if this were actually the case, no doubt tradition should have depicted Evander in the prime of boyhood — and it did not. Nor is there any source that refers to Nicostrate not as Evander's mother but as his stepmother. Therefore, the ancients already suspected that a mistake had slipped into the figures of the manuscript transmission. It passed unnoticed to such a commentator as Servius because he was unaware of the peculiar time-reckoning of the Arca-dians, but it did not escape more observant students of history, who realized the 'ignorance of chronology' shown by certain sources and interpreted them as critically as Pliny did. It is certainly to those scholars that we owe a variant in the tradition which must be regarded as the easiest emendation of this patently corrupted detail. Plutarch writes in the *Roman Questions* that 'some say Carmenta was the mother of Evander' [52], but later, in the *Lives*, he makes no mention of this version and relates that 'some say the wife of Evander the Arcadian was surnamed Carmenta, her own proper name being Nicostrate' [53]. Plutarch, then, had changed his mind and joined the historians who thus tried to make the traditional figures acceptable. And this means that the written sources were univocal about Nicostrate's age — a further

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[50] Plin. *n.h.* 7.154-155 *Ephorus Arcadum reges tricenis annis ... uixisse ... quae omnia inscitia temporum acciderunt; annum enim alii aestate determinabant et alterum hieme, alii quadripertitis temporibus, sicut Arcades quorum anni trimenstres fuere*; cf. Censor. *d.nat.* 19.5, Macr. *sat.* 1.12.2, Solin. 1.34, August. *c.d.* 15.12, Pol. Silv. *chron.min.* 1.518.30.

[51] Plut. *Alex.* 9.1.

[52] Plut. *mor.* 278b-c quoted § 10 note 79.

[53] Plut. *Rom.* 21.2 οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρχάδου γυναῖκα ... Καρμένταν ἐπονομασθῆναι ... Νικοστράτη δὲ ἦν ὄνομα κύριον αὐτῇ — an opinion also shared by the great Vico, *Principj* cit., sect. 441 and 762, whom many a commentator regards as careless on this point.

evidence for the existence of an old and well-established tradition ancient scholars had to reckon with.

§ 8. The onomastic elements of that tradition are also worth considering carefully.

The points of departure and arrival of the Arcadians are represented by two place-names which the majority of the ancient scholars connected. As Dionysius says, the settlers 'gave this town the name of Pallantion after their mother city; now, however, it is called Palatium by the Romans, time having blurred the correct form, and offers to many the opportunity for absurd etymologies'[54] — a remark that applies to our own time, too, for there exists today a wealth of studies about *Palatium*[55] which can be profitably perused as examples of how place-names should not be dealt with.

Dionysius recalls another *Palatium* in the neighbourhood of Reate: 'of the towns where first dwelt the Aborigines, as Terentius Varro writes in his *Antiquities*, I shall enumerate: Palatium, distant twenty-five stades [c. 37 km.] from Reate, a town still inhabited by Romans down to my time, near the Quintian Way'[56]. Thus the name *Palatium* belonged to an area which from Rome extended deeply into Sabine territory. Therefore this place-name could also have been a meaningful word of one vast linguistic layer — unless it was a toponym imported among the Sabines by the Aborigines, as could be inferred from one tradition about their migration from the Palatine hill to Reate[57], or conversely an import in Faunus' land from the Sabine region, if the tradition referred to by the Reatine Varro is the right one: 'Palatium, so named because there settled the Aborigines from a Reatine district which is called Palatium'[58]. The opposite directions of the Aborigine migration according to either tradition may depend on local pride, but, whichever of these possibilities is true, it is a fact that *Palatium* belonged to the linguistic layer of the Aborigines. It was then pre-Arcadian and unrelated to Παλλάντειον. This is no doubt the reason that prompted some Roman antiquarians

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[54] Dion. Hal. 1.31.4 ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πολίσματι τούτῳ τίθενται Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως· νῦν μέντοι Παλάτιον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λέγεται συγχέαντος τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ παρέχει πολλοῖς ἀτόπων ἐτυμολογιῶν ἀφορμάς. These ancient etymologies are listed by K. Ziegler, *PWRE*, XVIII.3, col. 15-22.

[55] The original form is *Pălātium*, see K. Ziegler, *ibid.*, col. 15.29/16.40.

[56] Dion. Hal. 1.14.1-2 τῶν δὲ πόλεων, ἐν αἷς τὸ πρῶτον ᾤκησαν Ἀβοριγῖνες ... ὡς Οὐάρρων Τερέντιος ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γράφει ... διηγήσομαι Παλάτιον μὲν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀφεστῶσα Ῥεάτου, πόλεως οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμέ, Κοϊντίας ὁδοῦ πλησίον.

[57] Solin. 1.14 quoted § 5 note 26.

[58] Varr. *l.Lat.* 5.53 *Palatium, quod Aborigines ex agro Reatino, qui appellatur Palatium, ibi consederunt.*

(less inadvertent than some moderns assume in matters of history) to reject the identification of *Palatium* with the Arcadian Παλλάντειον and to contrive 'absurd etymologies', though it was phonetically tenable and fitted perfectly the tradition about Evander.

The connection of *Palatium* with the name of the settlers' home town can be construed only in the sense that this indigenous toponym may have played an auspicious rôle in their choice of the place. If the colonists actually came from Παλλάντειον (-άντιον etc.) [59], the familiar sound of the name, reminiscent of their home in Arcadia, must have portended favourable omens to them [60], as was the case a few years later, according to the tradition, with the wandering Epeans, 'who remained in these places and built a town on a suitable hill distant from the Palatine hill about three stades [c. 4.5 km.] as the crow flies, which is now named Capitoline but by the men of that time was called Saturnian, as if one called it in Greek the hill of Kronos. As to the name of the hill', Dionysius relates, 'some think that it is ancient, as I said, and that therefore the Epeans became fond of the hill not least because of the memory of the hill of Kronos in Elis' [61].

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[59] The genuine form was Παλλάντειον, while Παλλάντιον is a later form; see E. Meyer, *PWRE*, XVII.2, col. 231.2 ff.

[60] Παλλάντειον is a derivative of Πάλλας, an important name among the Arcadians (great-grandfather of Evander, son of Evander, etc.), whose antecedent occurs in Mycenaean: *qa-ra₂* PY An 192.16, gen. *qa-ra₂-to-de* 'to (-de) [the house] of Pallas' TH Of 37, i.e. /kʷalyas/ gen. /kʷalyantos/, etc., der. *qa-ra₂-ti-jo* dat. /kʷalyantiōi/ Παλλαντίῳ KN Dg 1235+5400. Thus if *Palātium* sounded akin to the Arcadian place-name in prehistoric times it had probably a labiovelar (/kʷalātiom/, for Lat. *kʷ* > *p* see § 29). As to Παλλάντειον, I owe an interesting suggestion to J.L. Melena. The Of tablets of Thebes record the address of recipients of wool either with a place-name (e.g. *Aigialiān-de* 'to A.') or with the mention of a deity's 'house' (*Potniās woikon-de* 'to Potnia's house', see § 71) or else, in Of 37 just quoted, with *kʷalyantos-de* 'to [the house] of Pallas'. Melena notes that this Πάλλας must be either a very important official or a divinity whose cult place (and textile production centre) is recorded here by the gen. *kʷalyantos*. It could be named elsewhere Παλλάντειον. If Πάλλας were a Mycenaean divinity, this would certainly offer the most plausible explanation for the name of Evander's home town and provide a link with Arcadian religion. In fact, Dionysius records that the Arcadian goddess worshipped on the Palatine (whom he interprets as Victory, § 72) was the daughter of Pallas son of Lycaon and had been reared together with Athena, and 'at Athena's will she received from mankind the honours she now enjoys' (Dion. Hal. 1.33.1).

[61] Dion. Hal. 1.34.1-3 περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὑπέμειναν καὶ πολίζονται λόφον ἐπιτήδειον εὑρόντες, τρισταδίῳ δὲ μάλιστα μήκει τοῦ Παλλαντίου διειργόμενον, ὃς νῦν μὲν Καπιτωλῖνος ὀνομάζεται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων Σατόρνιος ἐλέγετο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴποι τις Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Κρόνιος ... τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ λόφῳ τινὲς μὲν ὥσπερ ἔφην ἀρχαῖον οἴονται εἶναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς οὐχ ἥκιστα φιλοχωρῆσαι τῷ λόφῳ μνήμῃ τοῦ ἐν Ἤλιδι Κρονίου λόφου.

In ancient times, the name quite often plays a decisive rôle in the choice of a place and the founding of a town by migrant groups. We need only recall the settlement of the Gauls in Italy after their crossing of the Alps: 'having heard that the country where they had encamped was called Insubrium with the name of the Insubri living in a canton of the Haedui, obeying to the lucky omen portended by the place they founded there a town and called it Mediolanium (Milan)' [62].

§ 9. The tradition is univocal in attributing the leadership of the Arcadian migrants to Evander and his mother Nicostrate, whom the Latins called Carmenta.

Nothing can be said about the woman's name, whose first constituent is a word of unknown origin (νίκη 'victory') thus far unattested in Mycenaean and without correspondences in other Indo-European languages, while the second one (στρατός 'army') occurs at Pylos in the masculine name *ta-ta-ke-u* /startāgeus/ (cf. Cret. σταρτος 'στρατός') [63]. All that can be said about Νικοστράτη is that this name sounds consonant with the warlike habits of the Arcadians [64].

On the contrary, Evander's name can already be recognized as a genuinely Mycenaean form.

The long debate as to whether personal names in -ανδρος (fem. -ανδρα) existed already in pre-Homeric Greek has been disposed of by the evidence of the Mycenaean names *ke-sa-da-ra* Κεσσάνδρα (= Κασσάνδρα) at Pylos (cf. perhaps *ke-sa-do-ro* masc. at Pylos and Knossos) and *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-* fem.

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[62] Liv. 5.34.9 *cum in quo consederant agrum Insubrium appellari audissent cognominem Insubribus pago Haeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem, Mediolanium appellarunt.*

[63] Note Νικό-στρατος son of Menelaus and Helen (Apollod. *bibl.* 3.11.1, Hes. fragm. 70), cf. Πεισί-στρατος son of Nestor (*Od.* 3.36 etc.). Tradition has it that Evander dedicated a sacred precinct to the goddess Νίκη on the top of the Palatine, but the identification of that divinity is debatable; see § 72. It would be tempting to find Nicostrate's name in the Mycenaean tablets. Since νίκη fem. has a doublet νῖκος nt. also spelled νεῖκος, the feminine name *ne-ka-ta-ta* of the Pylian text Vn 851.11 might be suspected to sound /neikāstartā/ (note a 'dependent compound' like *di-pte-ra-po-ro* *διφθερᾱφόρος as well as the fact that the composition vowel -o- is not yet fully developed in Mycenaean). However, as J.L. Melena remarks, one should expect to find other examples of *ne-ko* or *ne-ka* in Linear-B compound names.

[64] Plut. *mor.* 775b Φοίδῳ δέ, τῷ Θηβαίων ἄρχοντι καὶ στρατηγῷ, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανιόντι ἀγγελθῆναι θυγατέρα γεγενημένην, ἣν αἰσιούμενον προσαγορεῦσαι Νικοστράτην 'as the birth of a daughter was announced to Phoedus, the ruler and general of the Thebans, returning from the battle, he named her Nicostrate thinking it of good omen'; W. Pape - G. Benseler, *Wörterb. der griech. Eigennamen*³, II, Braunschweig 1911, p. 1008, s.v. Νικοστράτη: 'like *Sigilhilt* i.e. victorious warrior maid, properly born on the army's victory'.

Ἀλεξάνδρα at Mycenae. It ensues that Εὔανδρος (which is also the name of one of Priam's sons) [65] is a trustworthy Mycenaean form in both its constituents, eu- (well attested in men's names at Pylos, Mycenae, Thebes and Knossos) and -andros.

§ 10. The actual existence of these two main characters of the Arcadian migration, Evander and Nicostrate, cannot be ascertained, nor do they provide any clue as to the origin, date, and development of the tradition itself among the Greeks.

No one will attach any value to the fact that legends about Evander's settlement on the Palatine flourished among the Arcadians when Pausanias visited their region [66], for that was the time when Antoninus Pius had bestowed ample benefits to Pallanteion on Evander's account.

More significant is the fact that some centuries before then, in the age of Philopoemen (about 253-183 B.C.), there was an Εὐάνδρου λόφος 'Evander's hill' south of Pallanteion, between Megalopolis and Messenia [67]. This place-name means that in the 3rd cent. B.C., i.e. about the time of the histories written by Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus of Sicily (the first authors Dionysius knew to have touched upon the early period of Rome) [68], and when Pallanteion was already an insignificant hamlet also for the Greeks (§ 3), there existed among the Arcadians a tradition about Evander. But we do not know how old it was; the 3rd century is a safe *terminus non post quem*, but too late to be of use for our purposes.

It is rather the name of Evander's mother which throws light on an important feature of the ancient tradition about the Arcadians in Latium.

It is as obvious as it is irrelevant that Nicostrate had been divinized and that both to her and Evander honours were rendered 'in the same manner as to the other heroes and geniuses' [69]. After all, the divinization of the humans was common among the Arcadians. But it is highly significant for the history of the Roman tradition that the divinized Nicostrate was identified by the Greeks with the nymph Themis, for this betrays a late misinterpretation of her originally human appellative [70].

In Greek religion, Themis is a goddess of law (by custom, as distinguished from Dike, in the same way as Latins distinguished *fas* and *ius*) [71].

A late Roman tradition about the Arcadians could not have helped calling Evander's mother *Nicostrata* and explaining her other Greek name Θέμις

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[65] Apollod. *bibl.* 3.12.5, Dictys 3.14.
[66] Paus. 8.5.13.
[67] Plut. *Phil.* 18.4-5.
[68] Dion. Hal. 1.6.1.
[69] Dion. Hal. 1.32.2.
[70] Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 quoted below (note 79).
[71] Bibliography on δίκη and θέμις in Chantraine, p. 284 col. I.

with Lat. *fas*, itself a divine personification [72] since time immemorial: *audi Iuppiter, audite Fines, audiat Fas* 'hear Jupiter, hear ye Boundaries, let Righteousness hear!' said an old formula of the Fetial priests [73]. However, θέμις [74] in Homer is not only the name of the goddess 'who looses and gathers the assemblies of men' [75], but also a noun: 'oracle', *Od.* 16.403 εἰ μέν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο θέμιστες 'if the oracles of the great Zeus approve' [76]. No doubt, applied to Evander's mother, Θέμις was originally an appellative declaring the prophetic gifts of the woman.

However, the Romans called her neither by her Greek name Νικοστράτη (or a deformation of it) nor with a Latin name somehow connected with Θέμις in its acceptation of *fas* — indeed, they did not have any proper name for the Arcadian prophetess and simply called her with her Latin appellative *Carmentis* or *Carmenta*, from *carmen* (< *can-men* < *canō* 'sing') 'song', properly 'religious rhythmical utterance' [77].

Dionysius explains to his Greek readers the sense of *Carmenta* but not the real meaning of Θέμις. This shows, on one hand, that the Romans of his time still knew what that Latin name really meant and that, on the other hand, the Greeks had forgotten the sense of Θέμις in this case and its *raison d'être* as an appellative of Evander's mother and regarded it merely as a proper name: 'Evander was said to be the son of Hermes and a local nymph [78] of the Arcadians, whom the Greeks say to be Themis and describe as possessed by divine inspiration, but the writers of the early Roman history call

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[72] Aus. *technop.* 8.1-2 *prima deum Fas, quae Themis est Grais* 'first of the gods is Right, who is Themis to the Greeks'.

[73] Liv. 1.32.6.

[74] It is doubtful whether the word occurs in Myc. *te-mi*, see *Documents*[2], p. 584.

[75] *Od.* 2.68-69, cf. *Il.* 20.4.

[76] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.54 Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν 'Phoebus will remind by his oracles'.

[77] According to a derivation pattern of which very few examples survive (e.g. *sēmen* > *sēmentis*; for the form in *-a* see § 74).

[78] It is idle to speculate on the definition of Themis as a νύμφη. Themis is not a nymph, but nymphs are begotten by her union with Zeus (see W.H. Roscher, *Ausführl. Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythol.*, V, Leipzig 1916-1924, p. 572 ff.); however, as we shall see presently, this nymph is not the goddess Themis. Greek tradition seems to have used the term in its original sense of 'bride' and understood it as 'nymph' once θέμις 'oracle' was transformed into a theonym. It is significant that the Latin tradition attributes to Evander's mother the faculty of divination, but not a divine nature, and Serv. *in Aen.* 8.336 clearly shows that the word was originally a human appellative also among the Arcadians: *nymphae autem maritae dicit: nam Graece sponsa* νύμφη *dicitur. haec autem non uere nympha fuit, sed uaticinatrix. alii nympham ideo dictam, quoniam qui res Arcadum scripserunt, tradunt sex feminas ibi fuisse quae nymphae uocarentur, in quis et Carmentem: proprio ergo uocabulo, non epitheto poetico usus est* 'indeed he [sc. Vergil] says "nymph" for "married woman", as the bride is called νύμφη

in their native language Carmenta. This name of the nymph would be in Greek Thespiodos "prophetic singer": in fact, the Romans call songs *carmina* and agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, foretold to the people in song the things that would come to pass'[79].

This proves the existence of an old Roman tradition. No one will dare say it was of local origin and dated back directly to an actual settlement on the Palatine, but even if it stemmed from Greek sources it must have originated at a time when *carmentis* was still a current word in Latin and provided the translation of θέμις in its originary acceptation of 'oracle' — which is exactly what Servius says when he relates that Evander's mother 'was called Nicostrate, but she was named Carmentis *by her own people* because, endowed with prophetic faculties, she sang her oracles: in fact, foretellers were called *carmentes* in times of old, and thence also *carmentarii* the copyists who transcribed their sayings'[80], and *carmentia* the faculty of predicting things to come[81] and *carmentalia* the collection of oracles (λόγια) in verse form[82].

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in Greek; in fact, this woman was not actually a nymph but a prophetess; others assume she was named nymph because the writers of Arcadian history relate that there were there six women called nymphs, among whom was Carmentis, too; he then used the word in its proper sense, not as a poetical epithet'.

[79] Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Εὔανδρος Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενος καὶ νύμφης τινὸς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίας, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Θέμιν εἶναι λέγουσιν καὶ θεοφόρητον ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράψαντες ἀρχαιολογίας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ Καρμέντην ὀνομάζουσιν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Θεσπιῳδὸς τῇ νύμφῃ τοὔνομα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ᾠδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κάρμινα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ταύτην ὁμολογοῦσι δαιμονίῳ πνεύματι κατάσχετον γενομένην τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν τῷ πλήθει δι' ᾠδῆς προλέγειν. Cf. Plut. *mor.* 278b-c: τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἱ μὲν Εὐάνδρου μητέρα λέγουσιν οὖσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὀνομαζομένην Θέμιν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι Νικοστράτην· ἐμμέτρους δὲ χρησμοὺς ᾄδουσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων Καρμένταν ὀνομάζεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἔπη κάρμινα καλοῦσιν 'some say that Carmenta was the mother of Evander and that she came to Italy and that her name was Themis, or, as others say, Nicostrate; and that because she chanted oracles in verse she was named Carmenta by the Latins, for they call verses *carmina*'.

[80] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.336 *Nicostrate dicta est, sed ideo Carmentis appellata a suis, quod diuinatione fata caneret: nam antique uates carmentes dicebantur, unde etiam librarios qui eorum dicta perscriberent, carmentarios nuncupatos.* Likewise Plut. *Rom.* 21.1-2, Isid. *orig.* 1.4.1, Solin. 1.10; cf. also August. *c. d.* 4.11 *in illis deabus, quae fata nascentibus canunt et uocantur carmentes* 'in those goddesses, who chant to the new-born babies their ordained destinies and are called *carmentes*'. An echo of the fact that *Carmentis* was the Latin translation of Θέμις seems discernible also in Str. 5.3.3, who relates that the Romans honour the mother of Evander 'regarding her as one of the nymphs, although her name has been changed to Carmentis' (μίαν τῶν νυμφῶν νομίσαντες, Καρμέντιν μετονομασθεῖσαν).

[81] Lyd. *mens.* fragm. inc. 9 p. 180 Wuensch ὅτι κάρμινα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λέγεται τὰ ἔπη καὶ καρμεντία ἡ μαντεία 'for the songs are called *carmina* by the Romans and *carmentia* the faculty of predicting'.

[82] *CGL*, II, p. 98.6: *carmentalia* ὑμνολογία.

On the other hand, this implies that if the Roman tradition is an off-spring from the Greek, the derivation must have occurred when the Greeks still used θέμις in the acceptation of 'oracle'. Dionysius carefully enumerates the Roman writers he perused [83]. The oldest of them (the fact they wrote in Greek is not irrelevant) were Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus in the 3rd cent. B.C., and by then the Greek sources of both no longer knew the real significance of θέμις in this case, for Dionysius only mentions the identification of Nicostrate with the nymph Themis — which had arisen after the meaning of the epithet had disappeared. The conclusion is that if the Roman story about Evander was an offspring of Greek traditions it had developed from them earlier than the 3rd century.

§ 11. Nor can it be objected that the Roman tradition must be of much later import on the evidence of the very name of the Arcadian leader: Εὔανδρος > *Euandros > Euandrus ~ Euander. Certainly, the name of the Arcadian hero would not have a perfectly Hellenic form in Rome if it had been handed down through a few centuries by direct transmission within Latin. All the more so as the cluster dr is alien to Latin (§ 78) and the diphthong eu would have become ou > ū. But Euander need not be the name of the Arcadian leader in the oldest Latin legends.

We do have indisputable evidence in Roman lore that Latin continuations of Greek names were eventually replaced, at least in educated circles, by the original Greek forms they derived from.

For instance, tradition has it that Aeneas introduced into Latium the cult of Venus under the name of Frutis [84]. This form clearly represents the continuation of Ἀφροδίτη, but is not consistent with the conventional sound laws of Latin borrowings from Greek. Therefore an Etruscan intermediary has also been surmised, though the Etruscan name of the goddess is turan (it would be more sensible to remember the unpredictable defacements undergone, even at a comparatively late time, by the names of Greek myths assimilated in Praeneste, where, for instance, folk etymology has transformed old Τειρεσίας, the blind soothsayer of Thebes, into a young soresios by connection with sors 'lot' and sorex 'lot-drawer', a function often performed by a boy) [85]. No doubt Frutis is Ἀφροδίτη, as transmitted by oral tradition, and was replaced later by Venus (a name significantly still lacking among the Roman divinities mentioned in the religious texts of the royal period). In Latin, the

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[83] Dion. Hal. 1.6.2 and 1.7.3.
[84] Hem. fragm. 7 Peter ap. Solin. 2.14, cf. Paul. Fest. 80.18.
[85] *Par. Pass.*, XXII, 1967, p. 292-293.

perfectly Greek form *Aphrodite* is a foreign name of very late acceptance.

Another example. While *Laomedon* (*Lau-*) is the only name we find in Latin literature for the mythical king of Troy Λαομέδων, Paulus Diaconus recalls that 'the ancient Romans still unused to Greek said *Alumentus* instead of *Laumedon*' [86].

A third example. We know that the god *Apollo* (< ᾿Απόλλων), whom the Vestals also invoked in their prayers as *Apollo medice, Apollo Paean*, was earlier called *Apello* [87], with a Dorian form (᾿Απέλλων) no doubt imported from Southern Italy (cf. Osc. *appelluneís* gen.) and still unknown in the religious texts of Numa Pompilius. Again, the compendium of Paulus Diaconus recalls that there also existed another ancient form of the god's name, *Aperta* (lit. 'open' fem.), evidently a queer deformation by folk etymology 'for oracles are given by him with an open tripod' [88] (*cortina* 'tripod' fem.).

In such cases, then, the Greek proper name had different forms in Latin, corresponding to distinct cultural and chronological stages — one or more archaic forms, no doubt largely dependent on oral transmission (and thus more or less defaced), and a recent one, of learned origin and written tradition, thus closely similar to or identical with the Greek form.

If we did not chance to have a cursory reference of Solinus (3rd cent. A.D.) to the lost work of the historian Cassius Hemina, and the excerpts of Paulus Diaconus (8th cent. A.D.) for the lost sections of Festus' lexicographical work (who in turn drew from a scholar of the Augustan age), we would know nothing of *Frutis, Alumentus, Aperta*.

Thus, we do know that there must always have existed in Rome a wealth of Greek names entrusted to the accidents of the Latin transmission, which have then disappeared, either replaced by local forms (as is the case of *Venus* in lieu of *Frutis*) or by the original Greek forms adopted at a later stage through direct contact with Greek texts.

If this is borne in mind, it is no wonder that the Arcadian leader is mentioned with a perfectly Greek name in the extant Roman sources. It may be that his name was not preserved by the Latins, who could have replaced it by an epithet, as was the case with his mother, whom they simply called *Carmentis* (*-nta*), i.e. 'the oracle' *par excellence*. Or else, whatever defacement the hero's name might have undergone through oral transmission, its form was eventually replaced by the original Greek antecedent Εὔανδρος,

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[86] Paul. Fest. 16.28-29 *Alumento pro Laumedonte a ueteribus Romanis necdum adsuetis Graecae linguae dictum est.*

[87] Paul. Fest. 20.27.

[88] Paul. Fest. 21.1-2 *Aperta idem Apollo uocabatur, quia patente cortina responsa ab eo dentur.*

all the more so as the first Roman historians not only drew from Greek sources but themselves wrote in Greek.

The existence of Evander does not really matter. The relevant fact is the demonstration that the perfectly Greek form of his name in Latin by no means affects the antiquity of the Roman tradition about the Arcadians on the Palatine, which is earlier than the 3rd cent. B.C., i.e. more ancient than the earliest Greek writers of Roman history known to the Romans and to Dionysius (§ 10).

The form *Euandrus* (*-nder*) is only further evidence of the obvious circumstance that a time-honoured Latin tradition, whatever its origin, had eventually met with Greek traditions in learned circles.

Some facts about Evander which the Romans did recall, e.g. his victory against Praeneste and the slaying of king Erulus (§ 30), cannot have originated outside Latium. On the other hand, some deeds like his war against the Arcadian city of Pheneus and his being the son of Echemos king of Tegea [89], whether late literary creations or details of the times of yore, must be drawn from Greek sources and are no doubt acquisitions of a comparatively recent date in Latin literature.

It is natural that factual memories and wondrous tales were interwoven about ventures beyond the seas, both in the mother country and in the new settlements. Thus Pausanias heard from the Arcadians of Tegea the story of their migration to Crete and their founding of cities in that island; thus Herodotus had heard the story of Minos in Sicily from the Eteocretans of Praisos [90].

§ 12. But the most striking feature of the tradition about the Arcadians in Latium is not the fact that it cannot be justified as an aetiological legend to explain aspects of the earliest history of the Romans, for they never used it to this purpose. It is rather that Rome considered the Arcadians neither the first nor the last of the several Hellenic groups to have migrated into prehistoric Latium [91], but nevertheless regarded them as the most important one from a cultural viewpoint. They would have exerted among the Aborigines an innovative influence that neither the Pelasgians who had previously come from Thessaly nor the Epeans who settle on the Capitoline hill [92] shortly after Evander (coming from Elis, near Pylos, together with Arcadians from Pheneus, § 8), nor even Aeneas' group had had — though this latter group will be

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[89] Verg. *Aen.* 8.165, Serv. *in Aen.* 8.130.
[90] Paus. 8.53.4, Hdt. 7.171.
[91] Carefully listed by Dionysius (1.60.3, 1.89.2, 2.1.2-4, apart from less important groups like e.g. the Cretans cursorily mentioned in 1.13.2).

by far the most significant for Roman history and is therefore the most cel-
ebrated of all migrations to Latium.

Only of the Arcadians did the Romans affirm, adding precise details, that
they transformed the Aborigine way of life from an essentially savage to a
civilized one.

This is all the more remarkable as the Arcadians were said to have been
very few in number. Cato spoke of 'Evander's fleet'[93], Ovid chants that 'he
had come with a fleet full of his followers'[94], an author of the Augustan age
summarized by Festus will recall 'the arrival in Italy of Evander and Aeneas
with a great number of Greek-speaking people'[95], but Dionysius is specific
on this point: 'the Arcadians chose a hill not far from the Tiber, which is now
near the middle of the city of Rome, and they built by this hill a small village,
sufficient for the complement of the two ships in which they had come from
Greece'[96].

And yet, the Arcadians would have prevailed over the Aborigines — not
by the force of arms but by the superiority of their own culture.

They were not only credited with the construction of a town with build-
ings, temples, and altars, and the introduction of rites that, in part at least,
were believed to have survived through the centuries. Dionysius relates spe-
cifically: 'the Arcadians are also said to have been the first to introduce into
Italy the use of Greek letters, which had appeared recently [among them],
and music performed on the instruments which are called lyres, trigons, and
pipes, for the men [living there] before them used no other musical contrivance
except shepherd's pipes; to have established laws and to have transformed
the way of living from a state of prevailing bestiality to civility, and to have
established arts and professions and many other things conducive to the public
good, and for these reasons to have been shown great consideration by those
who had received them'[97].

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[92] For supposedly Mycenaean sherds found in Rome at S. Omobono, in earth
carried off the Capitoline hill, see Appendix II, p. 154.

[93] Cato ap. Solin. 2.7 quoted § 4 note 19.

[94] Ov. *fast.* 4.65 *uenerat Euander plena cum classe suorum*.

[95] Fest. p. 328.14-15 *aduentu Euandri Aeneaeque in Italiam cum magna Graece
loquentium copia*.

[96] Dion. Hal. 1.31.3 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες … αἱροῦνται λόφον ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντα τοῦ Τε-
βέριος, ὅς ἐστι νῦν ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, καὶ κατασκευάζονται πρὸς
αὐτῷ κώμην βραχεῖαν, δυσὶ ναυτικοῖς πληρώμασιν ἐν οἷς ἀπανέστησαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀποχρῶσαν. Likewise Just. 43.1.6 *Euander … in Italiam cum mediocri turba popularium
uenit* 'Evander came to Italy with a small train of companions', and also Serv. *in Aen.*
8.51 *Euander … modicum oppidum fundauit in monte Palatino* 'Evander founded a small
centre on the Palatine hill'. All this seems to confirm that the Arcadians did not land
in a hostile country (§ 5).

[97] Dion. Hal. 1.33.4 λέγονται δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν

Livy says: 'in those days Evander, an exile from the Peloponnesus, controlled the region by prestige more than by power, being revered for the wonder of writing, a new thing among men unacquainted with the arts, and revered even more for the divinity attributed to his mother Carmenta, whom those people admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's arrival into Italy' [98]. And the late *Origo gentis Romanae* echoes: 'thanks to his learning and his knowledge of writing, Evander soon became an intimate friend of Faunus and was received by him hospitably and kindly' [99].

Should it be objected that this memory of the art of writing could not have survived so vividly for a long time among people ignorant of any script, the verses of the *Iliad* should be recalled about the letter Proetus, king of Tiryns in Argolis, gave Bellerophon in order to have him killed by the sovereign of Lycia: 'he sent him to Lycia, but he gave him baneful signs, writing in a folding tablet many and life-destroying, and bade him show these to his own father-in-law, that he might be slain' [100]. Homer, in this passage, which is his only mention of writing, refers to it as something strange and ominously magic belonging to an age past — and yet he still has a memory of it.

§ 13. The Arcadians are credited with the introduction into Latium of many specific novelties, but it is the skill of writing which is most commonly recalled. Though such emphasis may be due to the circumstance that among the various details about the Arcadian culture this one was obviously of most concern to Latin grammarians, the recollection of the Arcadian 'wonder of writing' leads to some remarks.

In Greece, inscriptions attest two phases of graphic culture:

(1) a first phase, which can be generically termed 'Aegean', and whose latest stages are represented by Linear B and also the syllabic script used in Cyprus until Hellenistic times;

πρῶτον διακομίσαι νεωστὶ φανεῖσαν Ἀρκάδες καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν δι' ὀργάνων, ἃ δὴ λύραι τε καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ αὐλοὶ (Camerarius, λυδοὶ mss.) καλοῦνται, τῶν προτέρων ὅτι μὴ σύριγγι ποιμενικαῖς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μουσικῆς τεχνήματι χρωμένων, νόμους τε θέσθαι καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰς ἡμερότητα μεταγαγεῖν τέχνας τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἄλλα πολλά τινα ὠφελήματα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καταθεῖναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνειν πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων.

[98] Liv. 1.7.8 *Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, uenerabilis uir miraculo litterarum, rei nouae inter rudes artium homines, uenerabilior diuinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam aduentum miratae eae gentes fuerant.*

[99] Ps. Aur. Vict. orig. 5.3 *Euander ob singularem eruditionem atque scientiam litterarum breui tempore in familiaritatem Fauni se insinuauit atque ab eo hospitaliter benigneque exceptus.*

[100] *Il.* 6.168-170 πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὅ γε σήματα λυγρά, | γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά, | δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγειν ᾧ πενθερῷ, ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο.

(2) a second phase marked by the introduction of the alphabet from the East, usually attributed to Kadmos and the Phoenicians.

The Greek traditions, however, do not recall the first phase, though Linear B was specifically used for the Greek language throughout the Mycenaean world. When Greek writers refer to the origin of their script, they invariably mean the alphabet [101].

In Italy also two phases of graphic culture are documented:

(1) a first phase which can equally be labelled as 'Aegean', represented by signs clearly of Aegean origin on local pottery of the Milazzese culture in the Aeolian islands (1400-1250 B.C.) [102]; 'the use of the characters of a script, even if in this specific case they occur as countermarks, would seem to imply, however, the knowledge of the system of writing itself, and thus we should not be surprised to discover more significant documents in future excavations' [103];

(2) a second phase due to the introduction of the Greek alphabet with the settlement at Pithekoussai in the 8th century or even somewhat earlier [104].

The first phase is important in so far as it attests that Aegean migrations did introduce into the Italian area some sort of writing and that this had an impact on the local culture, though the results were seemingly of no consequence in extent and time. The Aeolian graphic experience, then, provides archaeological evidence which, in principle, gives credibility to traditions maintaining that early settlers from the Aegean world brought their script to Italy. And, in fact, different from the case in Greece, the traditions in Italy clearly recall two distinct phases of writing.

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[101] The letter of Proetus (*Il* 6.168-170 quoted above) attests the usage of writing for a message from Tiryns to Lycia in pre-Homeric age. Whichever that script (and it is unlikely that it was Linear B, see V.L. Aravantinos, *Studi Mic. Egeo-anat.*, XVII, 1976, p. 117 ff.), the episode has never been used by the Greeks to assert the existence of writing among them before the introduction of the 'Phoenician letters'. G. Pugliese Carratelli should be right in interpreting ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν 'in my opinion' of Hdt. 5.58.1 (quoted below, note 107) as a hint that some contemporaries of Herodotus' surmised that there existed a script in Greece before Kadmos (*Par. Pass.*, XXXI, 1976, p. 5 ff.). However, one may wonder if they did not have in mind Proetus' letter, and in any event it is sure that they could not even produce some local but well-established tradition like those Evans assumed for Crete (*Scripta Minoa*, I, Oxford 1909, p. 100 ff.): Herodotus, who was so attentive to the legends he could personally gather from the Eteocretans of Praisos (7.171), would not have failed to mention such traditions in the very process of refuting them.

[102] See Appendix II, p. 155-157.

[103] L. Bernabò Brea, *Minos*, II, 1952, p. 28.

[104] *Origini*, II, p. 24 ff. (where, however, I was wrong in assuming the existence of a Greek horizontal alpha; on this and other Semitic graffiti see G. Buchner, *Par. Pass.*, XXX, 1978, p. 130 ff., and G. Garbini, *ibid.*, p. 143 ff.).

The alphabetic phase, as far as Latium is concerned, is specifically recalled by the tradition that Romulus and Remus were sent to learn 'Greek letters' in Gabii about 770 B.C. [105].

As to the previous phase, most authors held that writing was introduced by Evander and Carmentis, which means the group from Pallanteion; some credited the Pelasgians who reached Italy not long before the Arcadians; some others Hercules, who led a Greek expedition 'a few years after the Arcadians' [106].

It is noticeable that in such authors there is no mention of a πρῶτος εὑρετής, an inventor either human or divine, but simply of the introduction into an illiterate environment of a system of writing already existing elsewhere. What Dionysius relates about Evander and his Arcadians on this subject is precisely on the same lines as what Herodotus reports about the historical fact of the origin of the alphabetic phase among the Greeks: 'these Phoenicians coming with Kadmos, when they settled in this country introduced among the Greeks many arts, and particularly letters, which in my opinion the Greeks had not had before' [107]. It should also be noted that all sources, even if they are at variance about which Greek settlers introduced the skill of writing into Central Italy for the first time, agree that this took place at one and the same period — which according to classical historians (and the archaeological finds of Luni sul Mignone) should be set approximately in the 13th cent. B.C. This date is much too early to refer such traditions to the Greek alphabet (whose origin cannot be set before the 10th century) [108] and is too late to suggest a script like Linear A, which disappears with the

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[105] *Origini*, II, p. 9 ff. and specially p. 9-28.

[106] Dion. Hal. 1.34.1. In addition to the passages just quoted (notes 97-99), Tac. *ann.* 11.14 *litteras in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Demarato, Aborigines Arcade ab Euandro didicerunt* 'in Italy the Etruscans learnt letters from the Corinthian Demaratus, the Aborigines from the Arcadian Evander', Mar. Vict., *GLK*, VI, p. 23.14-15 *repertores litterarum Cadmus ex Phoenice in Graeciam et Euander ad nos transtulerunt* 'the inventors of letters introduced them, Cadmus into Greece from Phoenicia and Evander among us' etc. Evander learnt writing from Hercules according to Juba ap. Plut. *mor.* 278e. Writing introduced into Latium by Carmentis: Isid. *orig.* 1.4.1 and 5.39.11, cf. Hyg. *fab.* 277.2, Serv. in Don., *GLK*, IV, p. 421.2, Serg. in Don., *GLK*, IV, p. 519.2-11, Pompon., *GLK*, V, p. 98.10-15. Writing introduced into Latium by Pelasgian migrants before Evander: Plin. *n.h.* 7.56.193. Writing introduced by the Pelasgians under the command of Evander or Hercules: Max. Vict., *GLK*, VI, p. 194.16-17, Aud., *GLK*, VII, p. 325.6-7.

[107] Hdt. 5.58.1 οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι ... πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν.

[108] A survey of the views about the date of the Greek alphabet in M. Burzachechi, *Par. Pass.*, XXXI, 1976, p. 81 ff.

destruction of the second palaces of Crete about 1450 B.C. [109] The writing imported into Central Italy by Greek migrants during the 13th century could only be Linear B — that is to say, the Mycenaean script.

As we said, an essential difference between the traditions about writing in Greece and those concerning Italy is that the former recall only the alphabetic phase, while the latter distinguish two phases.

The difference might be due to the fact that in Italy both moments imply the appearance of writing in an environment where the technique did not exist at the time. This was not the case in Greece: while the alphabet was a novelty among people who had practically lost any memory of writing, Linear B was just a development in an environment where writing was common practice in everyday life.

Tradition also recalls that the 'wonder of writing' imported by the Arcadians was for them a recent acquisition [110]. Those who hold that the Linear-B script developed from Linear A after the collapse of the Minoan civilization of Crete will find that this detail tallies with their view. For even if Linear B had not been devised (or at least adapted to the Mycenaean language) after the destruction of the Palace at Knossos in the period LM IIIB [111], it must have originated some time after 1450 B.C. [112], and also assuming that it had spread rapidly throughout the Mycenaean world in the Myc. IIIA period (1425-1300 B.C.), it seems quite natural that in an isolated midland area like Arcadia it would have been a recent acquisition in the Myc. IIIB period (1300-1200 B.C.), when the Pallanteion exiles left for Italy [113].

The circumstance that the bulk of Linear-B tablets has come to light in the palaces at Knossos and Pylos shows the exceptional importance of writing in the official administration, but does not mean that literacy was restricted to the palaces [114]. However, also the fact that no palatial centres

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[109] L. Godart, *ibid.*, p. 38-39.

[110] Dion. Hal. 1.33.4 quoted § 12 note 97.

[111] E. Hallager, *The Myc. Palace at Knossos*, Stockholm 1977, p. 91 ff.

[112] L. Godart, *Par. Pass.*, XXXI, 1976, p. 31-32 and 46-47; A. Sacconi, *ibid.*, p. 63-65.

[113] As a mountainous region shut off from the sea and located between the Pylian kingdom and Argolis, in the Mycenaean world Arcadia must have been most conservative, linguistically as well as culturally, according to Bartoli's principle of the 'isolated area'. This seems confirmed by archaeology, though Arcadia is still a neglected region in the exploration of the Peloponnesus and 'it is not possible to draw *negative* conclusions from the result of such partial excavations' (R. Hope Simpson, *Gazetteer* cit., p. 7 and 38-39).

[114] A.J.B. Wace ap. E.L. Bennett, Jr., *The Mycenae Tablets II*, Philadelphia 1958, p. 3-4.

are known in Arcadia favours the assumption of a slower and more limited spread of Linear B in that secluded region.

§ 14. To sum up, the tradition about the Arcadian settlement on the Palatine cannot be dismissed as pure fiction. Indeed, none of its many specific details may be rejected *prima facie* as intrinsically unacceptable.

However, the tradition cannot be substantiated thus far by archaeological data. As a matter of fact, the few Mycenaean sherds found in Latium do not allow a univocal interpretation. They could be due to the presence, if not of a settlement, at least of some Mycenaean dwellers there, or evidence trade connections between that region and the Mycenaean world, or else they might represent only an accidental and indirect import from a remote world quite unknown to the peoples of Central Italy. This is one of the many cases where the inadequacy of archaeological data and the need for linguistic evidence also in order to evaluate the archaeological finds themselves are clear to many an archaeologist, too. When Schliemann was successfully excavating in Ithaca, he confessed: 'Five years of my life would I have given for an inscription, but, alas!, there was none' [115].

Mycenaean inscriptions in early Latium are perhaps beyond the range of reasonable expectation. Even should Linear-B inscribed jars like those found in Argolis (as well as elsewhere on the Greek mainland) be unearthed some day, the discovery would not rule out the chance of an indirect import (this very example is worth mentioning because it is likely that the stirrup-jars in question were imported from Crete). And prospects of finding Mycenaean tablets are faint. No doubt an Arcadian or Argive trader posted in Latium would have kept his accounts on clay, which was the customary way for a Mycenaean to record day-by-day business, but their survival would depend on too many accidental factors to be hoped for. Perhaps, it would be more realistic to hope for some Latial inscribed sherds like those with Aegean-type signs in the Aeolian islands — which would definitely substantiate the Arcadian legend. However, this implies a cultural development which thus far is not observable in Latium (§ 81).

Nevertheless, we do already have the possibility of testing the tradition about Evander's settlement on the Palatine by means of linguistics — even in the absence of epigraphical documents.

As we said, the tradition offers many specific details about Arcadian prestige in Latium, so that we know in which fields of culture the newcomers would have exerted their influence. In terms of linguistics, we thus know in which semantic fields of historic Latin traces of their alleged influence

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[115] H. Schliemann, *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja*, Leipzig 1869, p. 31.

might survive. The knowledge of Linear B offers the possibility of testing whether such traces date back to the Mycenaean age and thus of substantiating the details of the tradition about the Arcadians in pre-historic Latium.

With a remarkable swerve from general scepticism, W. Warde Fowler wrote eighty years ago: 'it is possible that there may be some basis of truth in the Arcadian legend: we await further archaeological inquiry'[116]. In the meantime, the decipherment of Mycenaean makes it possible to investigate the problem by combining tradition and linguistics.

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[116] W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London 1899, p. 313 note 1.

II

LINGUISTIC CRITERIA

§ 15. We shall not accept blindly the theory of the Roman philologists who (with a view to ennobling the origins of their own tongue) affirmed that the Arcadians disseminated the 'Aeolian' language in early Latium — thus taking for granted a settlement which we shall endeavour to ascertain from linguistic evidence. We merely hold that, if tradition embodies some kernel of truth, the prestige of the Arcadians established on the Palatine must have affected the tongue spoken there in the 13th century. This does not mean that any such linguistic traces have survived. But the question of the existence of that Arcadian colony, as long as conclusive archaeological evidence is lacking, will find a positive answer the very moment one detects, in historic Latin, words of cultural significance which may well be attributed to Mycenaean rather than to later Greek (otherwise, the recent-date etymology must prevail over the remote one).

Tradition has it that the Arcadians were the first to introduce into Italy 'music performed on the instruments which are called lyres'[1]. Let us consider, then, Lat. *fidēs -ium* fem. plur. 'string instrument' in general (specific terms for the lyre are the loanwords *lyra* < λύρα, *cithara* < κιθάρα, and also *chelys* < χέλυς 'lyre' < 'tortoise' or its Latin equivalent *testūdo* lit. 'tortoise', for Hermes was said to have made the first lyre by stretching strings across a tortoise shell).

For the Romans, *fidēs* was a noun of obscure origin (the only ancient etymology we know being a clumsy connection with *fidēs -ēi* 'trust': 'a type

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[1] Dion. Hal. 1.33.4 quoted § 12 note 97.

of lyre is called *fides*, for its strings harmonize together as much as trust among men'[2]).

The word is not attested before Plautus (died 184 B.C.), but its much earlier use and its chronological priority on *lyra* etc. are substantiated by the fact that it was the genuine indigenous term for the constellation Lyra: 'the rising of the constellation which the Greeks call Lyra, and our people Fides' writes Varro in his treatise on agriculture[3]. For a Roman, no doubt *fidēs* was a Latin term, *lyra* a Graecism.

Modern philologists connect *fidēs* with Gr. σφίδη sing. 'gut' and 'string'[4] and σφίδες plur. 'tripe'[5].

Originally, *fidēs* was a *plurale tantum* whose only meaning was 'lyre' (in fact, there is no trace of an ancient singular in the general acceptation of 'string'[6], and even less so with the sense of 'gut'). The singular *fidēs* (or *-is*) 'lyre' is attested only from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards, and though it must be much earlier (as warranted by its occurrence in Varro as the name of the constellation) it would clearly have been an easy development from the plural, for the name applied to a single instrument.

The only two instances we have of the Greek radical *sphid-* (σφίδη 'gut, string' sing. *-ā*-stem, and σφίδες 'tripe' plur. *-d*-stem) attest a variety of forms and meanings. In contrast, *fidēs* is originally used in the plural and with the single meaning 'lyre' — i.e. the Latin form is the crystallization of a Greek plural in one of its many occurrences, namely in the collective sense 'strings (of a musical instrument)'. Thus, *fidēs* demonstrates a semantic specialization which is typical of loanwords (§ 38).

The formal and semantic proximity of *fidēs* and σφίδες is such that a connection between them appears undeniable. However, a direct borrowing runs contrary to the sound correspondences observable in Latin loanwords from Greek (according to which one would expect *spidēs* < σφίδες like, e.g., *spinter* < σφιγκτήρ). Therefore, the Hellenic origin of *fidēs* is ruled out and the case is regarded as probably that of two parallel offsprings in Latin and Greek from a hypothetical antecedent, either Indo-European or rather 'Mediterranean', i.e. pre-Indo-European (to shift the problem into the realm

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[2] Paul. Fest. p. 79.27-28 *fides genus citharae dicta, quod tantum inter se cordae eius, quantum inter homines fides concordet.*

[3] Varr. *agr.* 2.5.12 *astri exortum ... quod Graeci uocant lyran, fidem nostri.*

[4] Hsch. σφίδη· χορδή (the entry quoted in the following note 5 suggests that here χορδή, without any specification, is in the current transferred sense of 'string' rather than in its primitive acceptation 'gut').

[5] Hsch. σφίδες· χορδαὶ μαγειρικαί.

[6] The exceptional use of the singular with the specific meaning 'string of the lyre' is an obvious development of the synecdochic interpretation of the plural *fidēs* 'lyre' as 'strings of the lyre'.

of the unknown): Ernout-Meillet, p. 232-233, 'same origin as Gr. σφίδες
... no doubt a borrowing from a non-Indo-European tongue'; Walde-Hofmann,
I, p. 493, 'has the same origin as Gr. σφίδες ... a borrowing from σφίδες (Saal-
feld) is phonetically impossible' (though on p. 567 the borrowing is regarded
as 'too decidedly rejected').

§ 16. We may now turn our attention to another *mot de civilisation*.
In the field of religion, tradition has it that the Arcadians brought their
own rites to Latium and that many of these rites remained alive through the
centuries. We need only refer to Dion. Hal. 1.32.3/33.3 and 7.72.14-18,
who specifically stresses the survival of some of these rites, by uninterrupted
transmission, down to his own time. Should this be true, some Arcadian
traces might be expected to survive in the highly conservative vocabulary of
Roman religion.

Let us now examine *capis -idis* [7], the name of a pontifical vessel of mod-
est size, made of wood or clay [8]; cf. Umbr. *kapiř-* for a vessel used in the
ritual of Iguvium as well as the Etruscan name *capi* for a container [9].

Latin has a group of substantives in *-is -idis* manifestly borrowed from
Greek, such as *aegis*, *haemorrhois*, *pyramis*, and, besides, four nouns in *-is
-idis* until recently of unascertained origin, one of which is the word under
scrutiny:

1. *capis*, a cultual vessel, fem.
   Ernout-Meillet, p. 97: 'one can think of an ancient borrowing from Gr. σκαφίς,
   defaced by folk etymology; words in *-is -idis* are rare in Latin, and generally without
   etymology'

2. *cassis*, a metal helmet, fem.
   Ernout-Meillet, p. 103, quotes Isid. *orig.* 18.14.1 (see § 17 note 14) and infers:
   'the word would be then Etruscan, like a certain number of names of weapons,

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[7] Sources in *Micenei*, p. 324; for the forms *capēdo* and *capūdo*, which also designate
pontifical vessels, see *ibid.*, p. 329-330.

[8] These features are typical of libation vessels in the oldest Roman religion; sources
in *Sabinismi*, p. 29-32.

[9] G. Colonna, *Studi etr.*, XL, 1972, p. 408, affirms that *capi* must mean 'container'
in general, for it occurs not only on vessels of different types, but also on a cinerary urn.
However, in *TLE²* 12 *minipi capi mi χuliχna cupes*, where χuliχna is the specific name
of the vessel ('I am the kylix of Cupe'), a generic 'container' seems to make little sense:
the inscription supports a meaning like 'sacred vessel', 'votive vessel' for *capi*, whose
occurrence also on a late urn should not be overestimated. In fact, the names of vessels
often develop other particular meanings: e.g. ὑδρία 'pitcher', then 'balloting urn' etc.,
and also 'cinerary urn', and likewise (without assuming that this Greek form might have
favoured a similar semantic development for Etr. *capi*) κάλπις (both ὑδρία and κάλπις
occur as 'cinerary urn' in Plut. *Demetr.* 53.2, and the meanings 'pitcher' and 'urn' co-exist,
as it appears from the play on the original sense in *Anth. Pal.* 12.74, cf. 7.384).

cf. *balteus*. Same flection as *cuspis*, with no sure etymology, and which has probably the same origin (see our remark for *capis*)'

3. *cuspis* 'point' (of a spear, javelin, etc.), fem.
    Ernout-Meillet, p. 161: 'unknown origin; no doubt a borrowing, like many names of weapons'

4. *lapis* 'stone', masc., but fem. in its earliest occurrence [10]; cf. Umbr. *vapeř*- which designates a stone seat and thus also the augural stone, just as *lapis* in Livy's description of Numa's *inauguratio*: 'led by an augur to the citadel he sat down on the stone (*in lapide*), facing the south' [11].
    Ernout-Meillet, p. 341: 'one connects Umbr. *vapeř-e* "lapide, sellā", etc. No other connection ... The names of the stone differ from one Indo-European language to another'.

The first of these four words (*capis*) belongs to the nomenclature of religion, the second (*cassis*) and the third (*cuspis*) are military terms, the fourth (*lapis*), whatever its original character, belongs also to the common language. Thus they pertain to different environments, endowed with varying conservative power, and as they do not form part of the same semantic field it cannot be surmised that one of them attracted the others to its own flectional pattern.

These four words are all feminine. And so is *fidēs*, a plural which thus coincides in gender and flection with their respective plurals *capidēs*, *cassidēs*, *cuspidēs*, *lapidēs*.

Three of them (*capis*, *cassis*, *cuspis*) besides being only feminine are *mots de civilisation* (we cannot say whether *lapis*, too, was originally a technical term) [12].

§ 17. Two of these three cultural terms have in the nominative a variant in *-ida*, which is precisely the ending of the acc. sing. of Greek nouns in -ις -ιδος:

1.a   *capis -idis*
    b   *capida -ae* [13]

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[10] Enn. *ann.* 553 V³ ap. Non. p. 211.10-12 *tanto sublatae sunt agmine tunc lapides* 'with so great a column then stones were upraised'.

[11] Liv. 1.18.6 *ab augure ... deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem uersus consedit.*

[12] See *Micenei*, p. 345, for the hypothesis of a primitive sense 'worked stone', but it would be too daring, without any cultural or archaeological evidence, to surmise *lapis -idis* < Gr. ταφίς -ίδος '*τάφιος λίθος, gravestone' (a form attested by the late νεκρο-ταφίς; *tap-* never occurs in the Latin vocabulary).

[13] A religious term in Lucil. 319 about Numa's rites: *hinc ancilia, ab hoc apices capidasque repertas* 'hence the shields of the Salian priests, from this the caps of the Flamens and the cups of the Pontiffs were created'.

2.a *cassis -idis* [14]

b *cassida -ae*

casila -ae i.e. /cassila/ (showing the alternance *l/d* as in *l/dacruma*, *nouensil/des*, etc.) from a text which predates the introduction of double consonants in writing (attributed to Ennius, 239-169 B.C.).

This recalls the Graecisms which have two forms in Latin, one from the Greek nominative and the other from the accusative [15], e.g. *crēpis -ĭdis* 'shoe-sole' < nom. κρηπίς and *crepida -ae* < acc. κρηπῖδα, *crātēr -ēris* 'a mixing vessel for wine' < nom. κρᾱτήρ and *crātēra -ae* < acc. κρᾱτῆρα (or *crēterra -ae* < acc. κρητῆρα), etc.

Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that these nouns in *-is -idis* of obscure origin may come from Greek. Such a possibility has now gained strong support from the demonstration that one of them, *cassis* 'helmet' (usually of metal), is an approximately 8th-century borrowing by way of the Latin dialects of the coastal area (featuring *a* < Gr. *o*) from Dor. κοττίς -ίδος '(crested) helmet' [16].

This also proves that the ending -ις -ιδος gets in a Latin borrowing of that age the same treatment as that shown by Graecisms of a much later date, like e.g. *proboscis* (or *promuscis*) *-idis* 'trunk, proboscis' (< προβοσκίς -ίδος) which cannot be a borrowing earlier than Pyrrhus' expedition in Italy (280 B.C.), when the Romans saw elephants for the first time [17], or *epidermis* 'outer skin' (< ἐπιδερμίς) which occurs in Pelagonius in the 4th cent. A.D.

The inevitable conclusion is that the ending *-is -idis* leads us to presume a Greek origin for the Latin words of still obscure etymology *capis*, *cuspis* and *lapis*, but offers no clue as to the date of their possible borrowing.

§ 18. Greek has the vessel name σκάφη, which Homer uses only in the diminutive: σκαφίς -ίδος fem., 'a container for milking' in *Od.* 9.222-223

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[14] Sources for *cassis -ida -ila* in *Micenei*, p. 327. Isid. *orig.* 18.14.1 reads: *cassis de lammina est, galea de coreo ... cassidam autem a Tuscis nominatam: illi enim galeam cassim nominant, credo a capite* 'the *cassis* is of metal plate, the *galea* of leather ... the *cassis* is so called by the Etruscans: in fact, they call *cassis* the *galea*, from the head, I suppose'. This suggests that the *-i*-stem *cassis -is* might be not Latin but Etruscan (cf. Etr. *capi* as against Lat. *capis -idis*). However, the stem *cassi-* seems attested by the name of the crested lark, *cassīta* (Gell. 2.29.3 ff.), and it must be remembered that Enn. *ann.* 398 V³ has an abl. *lapi*, thus also *lapis -is* as an *i*-stem (as against *lapis -idis*), which the grammarian Priscianus attributes to 'the most ancient authors' (*GLK*, II, p. 250.9-11). Such a variety of forms is often a feature of loanwords, no matter how old their borrowing may be.

[15] *Origini*, II, p. 32.

[16] *Aspetti*, p. 153-154.

[17] *Origini*, II, p. 30-32.

ἄγγεα πάντα, γαυλοί τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖς ἐνάμελγεν 'all the well-made vessels, the milk-pails and the *skaphídes*, into which he milked' (therefore Hesychius explains σκαφίδες by ποιμενικὰ ἀγγεῖα 'shepherd's vessels'), and which is mentioned also among the implements for making bread in Ar. fragm. 417 σκαφίδας, μάκτρας, Μοσσυνικὰ μαζονομεῖα '*skaphídes*, kneading-troughs, trenchers made by the [Black-Sea tribe of the] Mossynoikoi for serving barley-cakes on'.

According to Ernout-Meillet and others, for the origin of Lat. *capis* one may think of this σκαφίς defaced by folk etymology (§ 16.1).

However, there is no reason to doubt that Latin of the historic age would have rendered σκαφίς by *scapis*. In fact, *sc-* is normal in Latin, both in hereditary Indo-European words (e.g. Gr. σκαρῑφάομαι ~ Lat. *scrībō*) as well as in words that may be either hereditary or borrowed from Greek (e.g. *scaeuus* 'left' ~ σκαιός) and in sure Graecisms like *scapha* 'skiff' < σκαφή (and it is already normal in borrowings of Romulus' age: *scūtum* 'shield' < σκῦτον [18]).

Nor can the *deus ex machina* of folk etymology reasonably be invoked, as it would have been quite natural for a Roman to explain the expected *scapis* by *scapula* 'shoulder-blade', with a connection identical to the folk etymology contrived for another religious term of the very same semantic field [19]: '*armillum* is the name in the ritual for a wine vessel, for it is carried on the *armus*, that is to say on the shoulder' [20]. Therefore, the ancient explanation of *capis* by *capiō* 'take, seize' cannot be the cause but a consequence of the form without initial *s*: 'the *capides* and the smaller *capulae* were named from *capio* (seize) for they have handles to make it possible for them to be grasped, that is, *capi* (to be seized)' [21].

It should be noted that the plural *fidēs* is to σφίδες as *capis* is to σκαφίς or (to quote this pair in the plural too, in order to make the correspondence of the two -*d*-stems immediately evident) as *capidēs* is to σκαφίδες. Also in this latter case, the connection seems undeniable, but again it does not conform to the sound correspondences of Latin borrowings from Greek.

One may then wonder whether both in *fidēs* and *capidēs* the disappearance of the initial and preconsonantal *s-* of Greek is no mere coincidence and may inquire whether the same phenomenon occurs in other cases and how it may be interpreted.

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[18] *Origini*, II, p. 64 ff.

[19] In fact Varro ap. Non. p. 547.11-14 quotes *capula, capis*, and *armillum* together.

[20] Paul. Fest. p. 2.12-13 *armillum uas uinarium in sacris dictum, quod armo, id est humero, deportetur*.

[21] Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.121 *capid⟨es⟩ et minores capulae a capiendo, quod ansatae ut prehendi possent, id est capi*; cf. Paul. Fest. p. 42.1 *capis poculi genus, dictum a capiendo* '*capis* a kind of cup, named from *capio* (take)'.

§ 19. Latin has another word which designates a handled vessel, even smaller than the pontifical *capis* [22] and not of exclusively religious usage [23]: *capula*. The secular character of the *capula* is confirmed by the fact that its derivatives [24] are technical terms of agriculture:

1. *capulō* 'ladle, decant', a verb known only with reference to making oil,
2. *capulātor* 'ladler', one who pours oil continuously out of one vessel into another during the process of pressing olives.

The word *capula* has a purely Latin aspect and has been connected by ancient as well as modern etymologists with *capiō* 'take, seize'. However, it is a technical term which finds its equivalent in a specific Greek form: Hsch. σκάφαλος· ἀντλητήρ i.e. 'bailer' to lade water out of a boat, and also 'decanter' to pour a liquid from a container into the drinking vessels [25]. And here again, the Latin and Greek terms are semantically identical, but their formal connection is not beyond discussion: σκάφαλος would have given in Latin *scapalos > scapulus*, and in the event of the disappearance of preconsonantal *s*- as in *fidēs* and *capidēs* the result would have been *capulus* (a form actually existing with the sense of 'handle' or 'coffin'); that is to say, one should still explain the development of a Greek -*o*-stem into a Latin -*ā*-stem.

This difficulty, however minor, does not exist if we turn our attention to Mycenaean. The Pylos tablet Un 1321, which also lists a quantity of wheat, reads in line 2 *to-sa-ka-pa-ra* /tóssai skaphálai/, followed by the ideogram for wine and a figure now lost, i.e. 'so many *skaphálai* (of) wine: *x*':

.1]-*ta-ri-ja* *a₂-to* *o-ra-qe*-[
.2]-*we* *to-sa-ka-pa-ra*   WINE [
.3]*ta-qe* *a₃-te*   *to-o*   WHEAT   [
.4]*o-pa-ro-ze* *ti-se* *pa-ro*[
.5]   vacant   [

The fact that WINE is preceded by the unique total formula 'so many *skaphálai*' shows that here the quantity is not expressed by a standard Mycenaean liquid measure in current use (i.e. indicated either solely by figures or by figures combined with metric symbols). It is calculated by *skaphálai*. Therefore, whatever its value, Myc. *skaphálā* (which has already been con-

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[22] As it appears from Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.121 quoted in note 21 (*minores* 'smaller').

[23] Varr. *l. Lat.* 9.21 clearly refers to profane vessels: *nonne inusitatis formis uasorum recentibus e Graecia adlatis obliteratae antiquae consuetudinis sinorum et capularum species?* 'have not the forms of the time-honoured pots and *capulae* been wiped out by the unfamiliar shapes of the vessels brought recently from Greece?'.

[24] Sources in *Micenei*, p. 330.

[25] Sources in *Micenei*, p. 331.

nected with σκάφαλος [26]) is a container used as a definite measure for liquids. Or else, the total formula is a specification of the ideogram, as e.g. in PY Er 312.5 *to-so-pe-ma* WHEAT *30*, where it indicates that WHEAT is specifically seed-corn: /tos(s)on sperma/ τόσ(σ)ον σπέρμα 'so much seed (of) wheat'. In which case, the conclusion is that the quantity recorded after WINE was contained in *skaphálai* (just as an account of today could record that a quantity of wine calculated in litres or gallons is stocked in bottles or casks).

It is worth underlining that in either case Myc. *skaphálā* is not a generic word. Its use at Pylos as a unit of measure or as a standard container for liquids shows that it is a technical term. Unlike the later σκάφαλος, it is an *-ā*-stem and an agricultural word [27], exactly like Lat. *capula*. Even disregarding the extent and importance of oil production in the Mycenaean world, a loan *capula* < Myc. *skaphálā* is quite in keeping with the tradition that the Arcadians exerted an important influence on Latial agriculture (§ 66). And here again, as in *fidēs* and *capidēs*, we do not have the initial preconsonantal *s* of the corresponding word of Greek.

§ 20. The alteration of a cluster consisting of the alveolar fricative *s* followed by the labiodental fricative *f* is a widespread phenomenon, and quite understandable from the viewpoint of articulation, so that in *fidēs* one could suppose that *sf-* > *f-* is a case of assimilation (all the more so as Lat. *f*, before being labiodental, was a bilabial fricative /Φ/) [28]. And in fact Latin does

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[26] L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Myc. Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963, p. 424 s.v. *ka-pa-ra*; his interpretation is recorded in *Documents²*, p. 550 s.v.

[27] The possibility that Myc. *ka-pa-ra* may actually represent a nt. plur. *skáphala* does not affect our reasoning, for in this case *capula* fem. sing., as an agricultural term, would still be culturally closer to Myc. *skáphala* nt. plur. than to alphabetic Greek. A shift in gender from neuter to feminine is well known in Latin at all ages (e.g. *armentum* 'cattle herd' nt. > *-nta* nt. plur. > *-nta* fem. sing. Andr. and Enn., like *folium* 'leaf' nt. > *-a* nt. plur. > *-a* fem. sing. in late Latin), and also in derivations from Greek: e.g. Myc. /praktea/ nt. plur. > Lat. *bractea* nt. plur. > fem. sing. (see § 34), Gr. κηρόν masc. acc. 'wax' > Lat. *cērum* nt. sing. nom. > *cēra* nt. plur. 'waxes' > fem. sing. nom. 'wax' (*Origini*, II, p. 46-47).

[28] On Lat. *f* as an originally breathed bilabial fricative /Φ/ see W.M. Lindsay, *The Lat. Lang.*, Oxford 1894, p. 99 (such an articulation provides also a most natural explanation for the hitherto puzzling interchange of *f* and *h* in cases like *faba* ~ *haba*, quoted *ibid.*, p. 294 f.). This is confirmed by FH for *f* in the oldest Latin inscriptions. Many handbooks, especially for didactical purposes, note that 'one form of Φ is the sound made by blowing out a candle' (D. Jones, *An Outline of Engl. Phonetics⁸*, Cambridge 1956, p. 180 No. 685), or the like. This amounts to saying that in /Φ/ the sound of pure breath represented by *h* has a free passage through the lips closely rounded as for /u/ or /w/. When the most ancient Italian philologists had to devise a graphic representation for /Φ/, they clearly analyzed its articulation and thus combined the Greek letter F representing /w/ with H representing the aspiration. In case this digraph of early Latin

not admit the cluster *sf* in any position, not even at a very late age (note e.g. derivatives like *differō < *dis-ferō, difficilis < *dis-facilis*, etc., and as late as the Itala version of the Bible *facellātio* 'rot [in plants]' from Gr. σφάκελος 'caries', σφακελισμός 'rot'). However, the hypothesis of a specific development *sf- > f-* is ruled out by the forms *capidēs* and *capula*, which show that *s* also vanishes before /k/. Therefore, one must acknowledge the more general phenomenon of the disappearance of initial preconsonantal *s* in particular loanwords, irrespective of the articulation of the following consonant.

The lack of preconsonantal *s-* in these Graecisms (for it now appears that they must be defined as such) reminds us of a feature of Linear B, which, as a rule, does not write preconsonantal *s* (nor final *s*), though it could (as shown by spellings like *si-mi-te-u* /sminthéus/, *do-so-mo* /dosmós/, etc.). Thus, for example, as we have seen in PY Un 1321, /skaphálai/ is written *ka-pa-ra*.

It has been assumed long since by Georgiev that in Mycenaean 'all phonemes (clearly) uttered were written, while those sounds that were not noted in the script were actually not pronounced or were articulated feebly, as for instance *r* before a consonant in English' [29]. This view (to say the least of it) is open to question and could hardly provide a safe explanation for the problem of our Latin borrowings. It will, therefore, be appropriate to recall a principle stated by Bréal: 'one is quite wrong in discarding, in the name of sound laws, etymologies that impose themselves, for it is precisely such etymologies which can put us on the track of novel observations, both in phonetics and grammar' [30]. And since we know nothing of the dialects spoken in 13th-century Latium, it will be as well to take notice of the fact that initial preconsonantal *s* disappears in Latin borrowings from Greek, one of which seems to go back to Mycenaean, and to apply to the study of the Latin vocabulary this formal heuristic criterion (which always has to be integrated in this way with the data of the history of culture).

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and early Etruscan had been suggested by the occasional spelling ꜰh for /hw/ in Greek inscriptions (cf. Engl. *wh-* for /hw/), this would simply confirm the articulation of *f* as a breathed bilabial fricative in both languages — and in other tongues of Italy, too, considering a spelling like Osc. *culcfna* 'χυλίχνη' (Ve 131) as against *culchna* (Ve 127).

[29] V.I. Georgiev, *Issledovanija po sravnitel'no-istoričeskomu jazykoznaniju*, Moskva 1958, p. 71 (and in general see p. 70-74; Italian transl. *Introd. alla storia delle lingue indeur.*, Roma 1966, p. 72-75). See also *Micenei*, p. 334.

[30] M. Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling. Paris*, VI, 1889, p. 163-164, and cf. *Origini*, II, p. 17-18.

§ 21. Acting on the hypothesis that in the pairs so far dealt with

Lat.	*fidēs*	Gr.	σφίδες
	capis		σκαφίς
	capula		skaphálā

the Latin words were borrowed from Greek, it ensues that they agree in the simplification of the Greek initial cluster (preconsonantal *s* disappears in all three cases), while they differ in the treatment of Gr. φ, which is rendered by *f-* in initial position (*fidēs*) and by *-p-* in medial position (*capis*, *capula*).

The latter is the rendering shown by the Latin words considered so far the most ancient direct borrowings from Greek, which have *p* < φ in all positions: e.g. *Pilipus* < Φίλιππος (on a denarius of the Gracchan age), *purpura* < πορφύρα [31], *spinter* < σφιγκτήρ. Therefore, the appearance of initial φ as *f* would be quite abnormal. In fact, it is held that φ is rendered as *p* as long as it represents the voiceless aspirate stop /ph/, a phoneme which does not exist in Latin and thus is rendered by /p/ (it is only in Cicero's age that the Greek pronunciation and spelling *ph* become current, at least for a while, in Rome) [32]. The sound of φ, when it eventually becomes fricative, will then be rendered by *f* and this is documented for the first time as late as the 1st cent. A.D. in Pompeii [33].

Therefore, one is allowed to conclude that Lat. *f* cannot render Gr. φ in any ancient loanword: terms for which an ultimate Greek origin has been posited long since, like *fidēs* (σφίδες), *forma* (μορφή), *fūcus* (φῦκος), *funda* (σφενδόνη), *fungus* (σφόγγος), *fūr* (φώρ) etc., are thus regarded as indirect borrowings. In such cases, the assumption of a common Indo-European antecedent is rejected as untenable and an unattested Etruscan intermediary is a convenient makeshift to explain the regularity of the correspondence Lat. *f* ~ Gr. φ [34] — unless one prefers to surmise that the Latin and Greek words are parallel and independent offspring of an equally unknown antecedent of the Mediterranean substratum.

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[31] Purple was used in Romulus' age, see *Origini*, I, p. 82 note 24.

[32] Cic. *or.* 48.160 *cum scirem ita maiores locutos esse, ut nusquam nisi in uocali aspiratione uterentur, loquebar sic, ut* pulcros Cetegos triumpos Cartaginem *dicerem; aliquando, idque sero, conuicio aurium cum extorta mihi ueritas esset, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reseruaui* 'knowing that the pronunciation of our forefathers did not use the aspirate except with a vowel [i.e. before an initial vowel or between vowels], I said *pulcri Cetegi triumpi Cartago*; after a while, a long while indeed, the reproof of the ear forced me to abandon the correct pronunciation; I yielded to the people in the matter of usage, and kept the knowledge for myself'.

[33] V. Väänänen, *Le lat. vulg. des inscr. pompéiennes*, Helsinki 1937, p. 95-99.

§ 22. Now then, if Lat. *fidēs*, *capis* and *capula* are Graecisms, the twofold outcome of Gr. φ depending on whether it occurs in an initial or medial syllable (*f-*, *-p-*) is paralleled, in the same positions, by a twofold (though slightly different) result of Indo-Eur. **bh* — a treatment which distinguishes Latin from the Italic tongues:

Indo-Eur. **bh* 1. initial: Gr. φ   Lat. *f*   Umbr. *f*   Osc. *f*
              2. medial: φ   *b*   *f*   *f*

e.g. 1. Indo-Eur. **bherō* 'bear': Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, Praen. *fero*, Umbr. *fertu* imper. (Volsc. *ferom* inf., Marr. *feret* 3rd plur. pres.)

        Indo-Eur. **bhrāter* 'brother': Gr. φράτηρ, Lat. *frāter*, Umbr. *frater* plur., Osc. *fratrúm* gen. plur.

     2. Indo-Eur. **albhos* 'white': Gr. ἀλφός, Lat. *albus*, Umbr. *alfu* nt. plur., Pael. *Alafis* pers. n. (= Lat. *Albius*)

But Indo-Eur. **bh* gets a double treatment, according to position, also in Sabine:

1. initial: Indo-Eur. **bh- >* Sab. *f-*

        e.g. *Fabidius* [35] < *Fabius* pers. n. < *faba* 'bean' < Indo-Eur. **bhabo-*

            Flōra [36] < Indo-Eur. **bhlō-* 'bloom' (Lat. *flōs -ōris* 'flower', Osc. *Fluusaí* 'Florae' dat.) [37]

2. medial: Indo-Eur. **-bh- >* Sab. *-p-*

        as proved by Indo-Eur. **albhos >* Sab. *alpus* 'white' [38]

We have then the following correspondences:

Indo-Eur. **bh* initial   Gr. φ   Ital. *f*   Lat. *f*   Sab. *f*
             medial   φ   *f*   *b*   *p*

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[34] It is worth recalling the remarks of N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Acta linguistica*, I, 1939, p. 82, about loanwords: 'in order to explain the regularity of sound correspondences there is no need to assume a common origin, for such a regularity also arises in the borrowing process that develops among adjacent unrelated languages (the so-called *Fremdlautgesetze*, foreign sound laws)'.

[35] Name of the founder of the Sabine town of Cures, Dion. Hal. 2.48.3.

[36] A Sabine goddess to whom an altar was dedicated by Titus Tatius in Rome, Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.74.

[37] For other forms that might be considered see *Micenei*, p. 336.

[38] Paul. Fest. p. 4.7-9 *album, quod nos dicimus, a Graeco, quod est* ἀλφόν, *est appellatum. Sabini tamen alpum dixerunt, unde credi potest, nomen Alpium a candore niuium uocitatum* 'what we call *albus* was so named from Greek, which has ἀλφός. Sabines for their part said *alpus*, whence it can be thought that the Alps were so named from the whiteness of the snow'. The text is such that the form *alpum* is beyond doubt; the exact location and age of the word are unknown (the past *dixerunt* of Paulus might correspond to a present in the original he summarized [see *Aspetti*, p. 174], in which case this form could belong to the Sabine spoken in the Augustan age) Forms like *safino-* in Samnium and Picenum, with **-bh- > -f-* as against this development **-bh- > -p-*,

The pairs σφίδες - *fidēs*, σκαφίς - *capis* and *skaphálā* - *capula* show a twofold correspondence of Gr. φ (/ph/) which is identical with the treatment of Indo-Eur. **bh* in Sabine. This does not imply, of course, that, if those Latin words come from Greek, they must have been borrowed through a Sabine intermediary or that their Sabine forms replaced the local ones in Rome (though either possibility could also be envisaged from a cultural viewpoint). It simply means that those Latin words, if they derive from Greek, indicate a linguistic tradition identical with that attested by Sabine in the treatment of Indo-Eur. **bh* — in other words (as is always desirable in linguistic reconstruction), a development which is not only theoretically possible, but also known to have actually taken place in Central Italy [39].

§ 23. Let us now consider the developments undergone by the Indo-European voiced aspirate labial **bh* in Latin and Italic according to Ascoli [40], whose diagram is reproduced below with his original terminology and only the addition of Sabine (IV bis) for the sake of completeness:

I	Indo-European	aspirate	**bh*	
II	Proto-Italic and Palaeo-Greek	aspirate	**ph*	
III	Proto-Latin	fricative	**f*	
IV	Latin		*f-*	*-b-*
IV bis	Sabine		*f-*	*-p-*

It should be borne in mind that linguistic reconstructions have no reality except as convenient formulae to express (and to explain) observed parallelisms, but in certain cases they may also have had a real phonetic existence.

The reference to Ascoli's scheme does not imply that a Proto-Italic and even less an Italo-Greek unity may be accepted nowadays. It only means that a development like that which Ascoli surmised, with his assumption of a

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simply show distinct traditions in Sabine, whose remarkable spread warrants the existence of dialectal varieties. Since *alpus* is a hereditary Indo-European word, an Etruscan pronunciation cannot be considered, unless we suppose that that Sabine dialect continues systematically Indo-Eur. **-bh-* with the voiceless *-p-* under Etruscan influence; and this would not affect our reasoning, for here we are not concerned with the origin of the treatment but only with its result.

[39] See below, note 41.

[40] See G.I. Ascoli, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachforsch.*, XVII, 1868, p. 417-428, and *Lezioni di fonol. compar. del sanscr., del gr. e del lat.*, Torino-Firenze 1870, p. 167-174 (and especially p. 172-174).

contemporaneous phase /ph/ both in Greece and Italy as part of a chain
whose elements are all attested in historic languages as continuations of Indo-
Eur. *bh [41], offers a simple solution to the problem of form and chronology
for the most ancient Graecisms with φ in Central Italy. As a working hy-
pothesis, it will find its own verification in the number of cases it explains.

A loanword like *fidēs* < σφίδες would predate those which render φ-
as *p-* in Latin for it occurred in the archaic phase II (intermediate between
the reconstructed Indo-European and the documented tongues of Central
Italy), when Gr. /ph/ sounded identical with (or so similar as to be assimi-
lated with) the Latin and Italic /ph/ which was to become later *f-* and *-b-*
in Latin, *f-* and *-p-* in Sabine.

§ 24. This train of development provides some clues as to the relative
chronology of many a Graecism that so far has escaped any attempt at dating.
Forms where φ of the initial syllable (viz. φ- or σφ-) is rendered by *p* belong
to an age when Lat. /ph/ had already become /f/, and therefore Gr. /ph/
was assimilated to Lat. /p/: thus, e.g., *Poenus* (of non-Roman tradition) [42]
and *Pūnicus* (with Roman *-oi-* > *-ū-*) 'Phoenician' as against Gr. Φοῖνιξ are
borrowings later than the period of phase II.

According to the sound correspondences just outlined, etymologies that
aroused perplexity by baffling any systematic construction now prove, at
least formally, unobjectionable. We need only think of Sab. *crepuscus*
'twilight'. According to Ernout-Meillet, p. 149, it 'seems the derivative of a
noun *crepus*, from *crepos* nt., reminiscent of Gr. κνέφας as Latin does not
have the cluster *cn-* in initial position; but it is difficult to suppose either
an originary relationship, or a borrowing (by way of Etruscan?)'. Whether
hereditary or borrowed, the position of the Sabine word with *-p-* as against
its Greek counterpart with *-φ-* is now clear: *crepus* nt. 'darkness' ~ κνέφος [43]
nt. 'darkness' like *alpus* ~ ἀλφός.

Connections within the tongues of Central Italy may also be guessed at.
For instance, the word of Sabine type *capid-* should find as its indigenous cor-
respondents *cabid-* in Latin and *kafiř-* in Umbrian, so that the existence in
both these languages of a form with *-p-* seems to point to an importing of the
vessel and its name from a Sabine area or from a linguistic environment where
/-ph-/ had the same development *-p-* as in Sabine.

The chronology of a Graecism cannot be established only by its form,

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[41] With understandable distrust of purely asterisked forms, Ascoli stressed that the
phase *bh was actually attested in speech and script of the historic age by Sanskrit,
*ph by Greek, and *f by Oscan and Umbrian.

[42] On *-oe-* see *Aspetti*, p. 161 ff.

[43] Ar. *Eccl.* 290, Crinagoras *Anth. Pal.* 7.633, Hsch., Suda, Phot.

but, as far as the treatment of φ is concerned, it must be recognized that, contrary to the view generally held until now, many a Latin word showing *f-* < (σ)φ- may be a direct loan dating back to phase II.

§ 25. Thus far, we have dealt with Latin words that may go back to the Mycenaean age. However, their deviation from the sound correspondences attested in the Latin borrowings from Greek in the historic age could always be explained as being somehow the result of folk etymology.

The possibility that the Latin language preserves elements which go back directly to the Mycenaean world can be warranted only by a Latin *mot de civilisation* that surely comes from Mycenaean, that is to say, corresponds exactly to a Mycenaean form and does not correspond nor can be traced back to the respective form of later Greek.

This word is one of the four culture terms in *-is -idis* listed in § 16: *cuspis -idis*, plur. *cuspidēs*, 'the pointed head of spears, arrows, javelins, etc.'.

Whatever their shape, the *cuspides* usually consist of an elongated triangular body and a tang by which they are secured to the shaft. Thus they look like daggers or small swords (this is so true that more often than not students of prehistory cannot decide whether a stone artifact is a dagger or a spear-point) [44]. Therefore, in Greek they are also called with a derivative of ξίφος 'sword': ἀκρο-ξιφίδες [45] 'terminal (small [46]) swords'. At Pylos, the tablet Ta 716 [47] (Pl. II.1) bears in larger characters the word *qi-si-pe-e* accompanied by SWORD (the ideogram of a knife with a long handle and a curved-edge blade, Pl. II.2) [48] and followed by the figure 2:

pa-sa-ro   ku-ru-so   a-pi   to-ni-jo   2   wa-o   DOUBLE-ADZE   2
QI-SI-PE-E   SWORD   2

Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* (thus a dual /kʷsíphehe/) shows that the initial *ks-* of alph. Gr. ξίφος is the result of a dissimilation of the labiovelar *kʷ* brought

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[44] E. Sprockhoff ap. M. Ebert, *Reallex. der Vorgesch.*, VII, Berlin 1926, p. 225.

[45] Lyd. *mag.* 1.8 Πρίσχου δὲ Ταρχυνίου τοῦ ῥηγὸς ὕστερον Θούσχους καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμῳ νικήσαντος προσετέθησαν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας γνωρίσμασι δόρατα ἐπιμήκη, ὡσαύτως τὸν ἀριθμὸν δυοκαίδεκα, ἀκροξιφίδας μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἠωρημένας δὲ λοφιάς 'then after king Tarquinius Priscus had defeated Etruscans and Sabines in war, there were added to the insignia of royal power long spears, equally twelve in number, having no points, though, but flying horse-manes' (interpretation of this passage in *Riv. di filol e di istr. class.*, CII, 1974, p. 316-318); note also ἀκροξιφίδιον, *Micenei*, p. 341, and cf. παραξιφίς 'knife worn beside the sword'.

[46] On the diminutive value of the suffix -ιδ- see § 35.

[47] I have dealt with this tablet in *St. Mic. Egeo-anat.*, XIX, 1978, p. 57-61.

[48] For the knife's shape see G.E. Mylonas, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, LXVI, 1962, p. 406-408 and pl. 121; cf. Hsch. ξίφαι · τὰ ἐν ταῖς ῥυκάναις δρέπανα ἢ σιδήρια '*ksiphai*: the curved or straight irons in the planes'.

about by the following aspirate labial *ph*: alph. Gr. *ksíphos* continues a more ancient *kʷsíphos*. Should Myc. *kʷsíphos* and alph. Gr. *ksíphos* be two independent continuations of an unknown foreign antecedent, as has also been surmised [49], the conclusion would not change: *kʷsíphos* belongs to Mycenaean, and not to alphabetic Greek.

It now becomes evident that Lat. *cuspis* is a borrowing from Greek, and not from the alphabetic form with *ks-* but from that of Mycenaean with initial *kʷs-*, whose labiovelar *kʷ* has been perceived by a Latin ear as *ku*. This was unavoidable, for it is true that Latin simplifies *kʷ* in *k* before a consonant (e.g. Indo-Eur. **pekʷō* > Lat. **quequō* > *coquō* 'cook', but perf. *coxī* and part. *coctus*), but this could not happen in the present case because, at the beginning of a word, Latin does not tolerate the cluster *ks* (which in that position is not known in Italic either). Thus a Myc. **kʷsiphídes* '(ἀκρο-)ξιφίδες' must have undergone the following development in Latium (§ 23):

II   Myc. **kʷsiphídes* ⟶ **kusiphídēs*
                                                        ↓
III   **kusifídēs*
                                                        ↓
IV bis   **kusipídēs*
                                                        ↓
                                                   cúspidēs
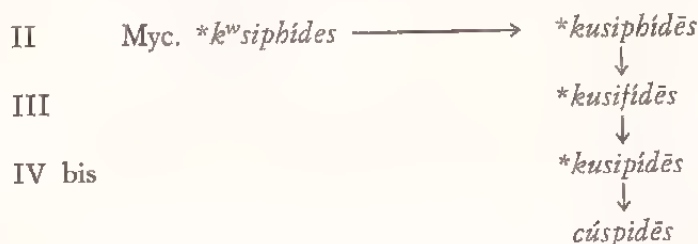
where *cúspidēs* is the inevitable result of the syncope of *i* brought about by the initial stress (e.g. Gr. δεξιτερός ~ Lat. **déksiteros* > *dexter*). Whatever the Latin treatment of Mycenaean preconsonantal *s* in medial position (§ 41), it hardly needs stressing that this is irrelevant in our case, for *sp* of *cuspidēs* is a late cluster developed within Latin. This development took place after phase III, otherwise the syncope would have led to further modifications in order to avoid the cluster *sf* which, as already pointed out (§ 20), is not tolerated by Latin; this offers a datum of relative chronology in the sense that the initial stress acted in the course of phase IV.

To take all possibilities into account, we are compelled to rule out the hypothesis that Lat. *cuspidēs* and Myc. **kʷsiphídes* are independent continuations of an unknown antecedent. To this effect the facts are clear and the solution is indisputable. On the one hand, *cuspis -idis* is totally isolated in Latin and its connection with any foreign word calls for a non-Latin stem whose ending is identical or similar to *-id-*. On the other, Gr. ξιφ-ιδ- is a derivative of the radical *ksiph-* 'sword' and part of a large lexical group spread from it: ξίφος (*-es*-stem) 'sword' (dim. ξιφ-ίδιον 'dagger' and 'bur-reed'), ξίφη

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[49] L.R. Palmer, *Interpretation* cit., p. 358.

(-ā-stem) 'plane-iron', ξιφίας 'sword-fish', ξίφιον (-ιον) 'corn-flag', 'sword-fish',
a kind of stone, a kind of hawk, etc. Since the derivation of Gr. ξιφ-ιδ- (and
for that matter also Myc. *kʷsiph-id-) is no doubt a process which occurred
within Greek, the conclusion is unavoidable: Lat. *cuspidēs* is a borrowing
from Mycenaean.

Therefore, the existence of Mycenaean elements in the vocabulary of
historic Latin is, in principle, true beyond question, and only needs to be
verified, in each individual case, on the combined evidence of linguistic
criteria and cultural facts.

The demonstrated presence of a Mycenaean element in Latin substantiates
the development outlined in the diagram of § 23. In fact, it ensues that the
asterisked phase *ph* which Ascoli labelled 'Palaeo-Greek' is represented by
words that actually occur in Linear-B texts. Therefore, the forms which he
called 'Proto-Italic', being intermediate between a Mycenaean antecedent and
its ultimate continuation in Latin, have the solidity of reconstructions inter-
mediate between two documentally attested phases.

§ 26. Together with *cuspis*, we shall regard as Mycenaean also *capula*
and *capidēs* on the following grounds:

1. the vessel name *capula*, as an -ā-stem of the agricultural vocabulary,
corresponds to Myc. *skaphálā* (Pylos) and not to alph. Gr. σκάφαλος;

2. the vessel name *capidēs*, though not attested so far in Linear B, is a
derivative (with -*id*- as in *cuspidēs* < Myc. *kʷsiphídes*) from the same root
skaph- of Myc. *skaphálā* and, as against alph. Gr. σκαφίδες, shows the same
disappearance of the initial preconsonantal *s* of Mycenaean that occurs in
capula.

Likewise, we shall consider of Mycenaean origin the noun *fidēs* for it
designates a stringed instrument whose introduction among early Latins is
attributed to the Arcadians and (as against alph. Gr. σφίδες) presents the
same treatment of the initial preconsonantal *s*.

As to the use of the lyre among continental Mycenaeans, we have only
to refer to the scene Lang called 'the Bard at the Banquet' (Pl. IV), painted
in the royal palace at Pylos and showing 'a man playing a lyre and sitting on
an outcrop of conglomerate rock; also belonging to the outdoor, natural world
are a bird and apparently a bull which share the same upper border and may
be thought to be charmed by the music; silhouetted on the same deep red
background from which the conglomerate rock crops out are remains of two
three-legged tables, at each of which two long-robed men sit and apparently
represent the musician's human audience'[50].

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[50] M.L. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor*, II, Princeton 1969, p. 51 and pl. 126 (43H6);
on the five- or seven-stringed lyre, *ibid.*, p. 80. In Crete, lyres appear on MM II sealings

During our study of the Latin vocabulary according to the cultural data provided by the tradition about the Arcadians, we shall thus assume as a clue to the possible Mycenaean origin of certain *mots de civilisation* the following linguistic postulates:

1. elimination of the initial preconsonantal *s* preserved in the corresponding forms of alphabetic Greek,

2. rendering of Gr. φ as *f* in initial position.

A third postulate can be drawn from a case which will now come under scrutiny.

§ 27. In Rome, the trumpets used in cult ceremonies were called *tubi*, a masculine form which predates the current fem. *tubae* and which was still used as an archaic technical term in the religious language of the 1st cent. B.C., as Varro bears witness: '*tubae* (trumpets) comes from *tubi* (pipes), a name by which the trumpeters of the sacred rites still call them' [51].

Lat. *tubus* masc., or *tuba* fem., is the name of the straight trumpet — properly a pipe in general, as Varro testifies, and thus also the instrument that originally was simply a wooden tube made from a plant-stem, as was still customary among the peasantry in the 1st cent. A.D. In fact, Pliny mentions the elder 'out of which the shepherd believes that a louder horn or trumpet is obtained if the wood was cut in some place where that shrub is out of hearing of the crowing of cocks' [52].

In brief, the instrument called *tubus* was a hollow stem, like the wooden pipes for conveying water [53] (and the more recent *tuba* might be a variant that gained the upper hand precisely in order to distinguish the wind instrument from the water main, also called *tubus* in Latin).

If one bears in mind the possible loss of an initial preconsonantal *s* as in borrowings from Mycenaean, the word of hitherto unknown origin [54] *tubus*

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from Knossos and on the LM III sarcophagus from H. Triada; see H. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* cit., p. 455-456.

[51] Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.117 *tubae ab tubis, quos etiam nunc ita appellant tubicines sacrorum.* Cf. the subsequent statement of Verrius Flaccus (summarized by Festus) quoted below, note 61

[52] Plin. *n.h.* 16.179 [sabucus] *ex qua magis canoram bucinam tubamque credit pastor ibi caesa ubi gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat.*

[53] Plin. *n.h.* 16.224 *pinus, piceae, alni ad aquarum ductus in tubos cauantur* 'pines, pitch pines and alders are hollowed out to make pipes for the conveyance of water'.

[54] Scholars assume the word must be Etruscan because of Servius' remark (*in Aen.* 8.526) that 'it is well known that the trumpet was invented in Etruria' (*apud Tuscos tubam constat inuentam*). However, they overlook the fact that the ancients attributed to the Etruscans the invention of only one of six kinds of trumpet, and not of the straight one. The Etruscan instrument was different from the Greek trumpet which, significantly enough, enjoyed particular importance at Argos, and (the two facts

'pipe' > 'trumpet' reveals a striking similarity with a Greek form having the same meaning (and a connection between them seems worth considering): στύπος 'stem, stump' but also meaning 'κύτος' Hsch., i.e. 'hollow', thus properly the stump hollowed out inside [55] (and also 'peal of thunder', i.e. a roar reminiscent of the sound produced in the hollow of a στύπος).

Beside στύπος [ῠ] -εος (-es-stem) nt., Greek has also a fem. στύπη (an -ā-stem like Lat. *tuba*) and a masc. στύπος (an -o-stem like Lat. *tubus*): in fact, Hsch. στύπη · ὁ στύπος, ἡ στελέχη means that στύπη can be a fem. sing. ἡ στύπη -ης, synonymous with ὁ στύπος -ου, as well as the nt. plur. of τὸ στύπος -εος with the sense στελέχη plur. 'trunks' [56].

Tradition reports that the Arcadians introduced into Italy 'music performed on the instruments which are called lyres, trigons [57], and pipes, for the men [living there] before them used no other musical contrivance except shepherd's pipes' [58], which consisted of reeds tied together [59]. Linguistic considerations confirm the statement about the lyre (*fidēs*), and the possible Mycenaean character of *tubus*, owing to the disappearance of *s*- as against

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are far from inconsistent) was imported from Greece among the Etruscans, thus in Central Italy: Schol. *in Il.* 18.219 σαλπίγγων δὲ εἴδη ἕξ · πρώτη ἡ Ἑλληνική, μακρὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἣν Τυρρηνοῖς εὗρεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ · διὸ καὶ Σάλπιγξ παρὰ Ἀργείοις τιμᾶται... ἕκτη ἡ Τυρσηνική, ὁμοία Φρυγίῳ αὐλῷ, τὸν κώδωνα κεκλασμένον ἔχουσα · ἔστι δὲ λίαν ὀξύφωνος · καλεῖται δὲ †λιγῦν†. ταύτης εἰσὶν εὑρεταὶ Τυρσηνοί, οὐ τῆς παρ' Ἕλλησιν 'there are six types of trumpets; the first is the Greek, long in shape, that Athena invented for the Etruscans, on which account she is honoured among the Argives also with the epithet of Salpinx (trumpet) [Eust. p. 1139.54 omits the reference to the Etruscans and reads: 'the first, that Athena found, on which account Athena is honoured among the Argives also with the epithet of Salpinx] ... the sixth is the Etruscan, similar to the Phrygian flute, having the bell bent; it has an exceedingly shrilling sound; it is called λιγῦν ["shrill-toned"?, λίτυον Maux]. The Etruscans are the inventors of this one, not of that used among the Greeks'.

[55] An interesting parallel to the present etymology of *tubus* is Rumanian (and Arumanian) *stup* (< στύπος) 'beehive', that properly means the hive made in the hollow trunk of a tree.

[56] See *Prestiti*, p. 13-14.

[57] The τρίγωνον (-ος), lit. 'three-cornered', was a triangular harp held either with outstretched arms or on the knees (see e.g. the Early Cycladic figurine of a musician from Keros, Athens, Nat. Mus. No. 3908, R. Herbig, *Athen. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, Suppl LVII-LVIII, between p. 168 and 169). The word has no correspondent in Latin (its literal equivalent *triquetrus* is not the name of an instrument). Whatever the shape of lyres and trigons introduced by the Arcadian settlement and their subsequent history in early Latium, one will notice that *fidēs* < σφίδες 'strings' is a generic denomination for any stringed instrument — which may account for the lack of specific prehistoric terms in this semantic field of Latin.

[58] Dion. Hal. 1.33.4 quoted § 12.

[59] Poll. 4.69.

Gr. στύπος, is substantiated both by the evidence of what the Romans recalled about the importing of wind instruments other than the indigenous shepherd's pipe and by the Arcadian origin of the ceremony named *tubulustria* [60]. In fact, according to the antiquarian Verrius Flaccus summarized by Festus, tradition had it that this was a rite introduced into Latium by Evander: '*tubilustria* - on which days it is recorded in the festival calendar - in Shoemaker's Hall, by means of the propitiatory offering of a ewe lamb, trumpets (*tubae* fem.), which they call *tubi* (masc.), are purified — which kind of purification, they say, was imported from Arcadia to the Palatine' [61].

§ 28. In addition to the postulates expounded in § 26, then, a third clue to possible Mycenaean elements in Latin may be the rendering of Gr. π as *b* attested by στύπος > *tubus*.

The correspondence of the voiced labial *b* of Latin to a Greek voiceless labial *p* is already a known textbook case of obscure origin. It appears in three pairs, for two of which the Greek word is now documented as early as in Mycenaean

| Lat. *burrus* | Gr. πυρρός | Myc. *pu-wo* /purswos?/ [62] | 'red' |
| *buxus* | πύξος | *pu-ko-so* /puksos/ | 'box' |

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[60] The exact name of the ceremony appears to be *tubulustria* plur. (a sing. *tubulustrium* never occurs). In Varr. *l. Lat.* 6.14 (quoted below, note 61) *dies* (sing.) *tubulustrium* has puzzled many a copyist (in fact, *dies* is omitted by all extant manuscripts except the cod. Laurentianus li.10 and the Hauniensis): no doubt here *tubulustrium* is an archaic gen. plur. as in *dies trinum nundinum* (*Origini*, II, p. 182 note 21).

[61] Fest. p. 480.25-29 ⟨*tubilustria,*⟩ *quibus diebus adscribtum in* ⟨*fastis est, in atr*⟩*io sutorio agna tubae* ⟨*lustrantur, quos*⟩ *tubos appellant; quod genus* ⟨*lustrationis ex Ar*⟩*cadia Pallanteo trans*⟨*latum esse dicunt*⟩ (the restoration is assured by the corresponding entry of Paul. Fest. p. 481.5-6). Cf. also Varr. *l. Lat.* 6.14 *dies tubulustrium appellatur, quod eo die in atrio sutorio sacrorum tubae lustrantur* 'the day of the *tubulustria* takes its name from the fact that on that day in Shoemaker's Hall the *tubae* (trumpets) of the sacred ceremonies are purified', and also *Fasti Praenest.* March 23 (*CIL*, I²1, p. 234), Fest. p. 482.27-29.

[62] In the personal names *pu-wo* masc. Πύρρος, *pu-wa* fem. Πύρρα, *pu-wi-no* masc. Πυρρῖνος. These spellings seem to imply Myc. /purwos/. If it is a Mycenaeanism, Lat. *burrus* might result from the common Latin development -*rs*- > -*rr*-, i.e. from *bursos, and go back to a Myc. /purswos/ with *swo* > *so* (e.g. Indo-Eur. *swesōr > Lat. *swosor > Lat. *soror*, Lat. *suodālis* > *sodālis*, according to the widespread treatment cons. +*w*+*o* > cons.+*o*, cf. e.g. *paruom* > *parom > *parum*), but in this case the expected Linear-B spelling for /purswos/ should be *pu-so-wo* (unless M. Doria, *Par. Pass.*, XVI, 1961, p. 214, is right in explaining *pu-wo* as ensuing from a parsing πυρσ|ϝός). On the other hand, *πυρσϝός has been posited in order to reconcile Corinth. Πυρϝος and πυρσός, πυρρός, but one could also have two different derivatives in -*wo*- and -*so*- from the stem of πῦρ (M. Lejeune, *Phonétique hist. du myc. et du grec anc.*, Paris 1972, p. 138 note 5).

(and the latter is the name of an import product and thus a *mot voyageur*, for box was a precious exotic wood used by Mycenaean carpenters for decorations), and the Mycenaean antecedent might already occur (§ 56) also for the third pair, where one has another *mot de civilisation*

Lat. *carbasus*   Gr. κάρπασος   Myc. *ka-pa-so* /karpasos/ 'flax'

However, we know nothing that substantiates the Mycenaean origin of these borrowings, and *b* < *p* in words ultimately going back to Greek may occur at any time and under the most diverse conditions (Ital. *bottega* and *befania* as against ἀποθήκη and ἐπιφάνεια are cases in point). There is no way to ascertain whether in *Burrus* < Πύρρος and *Buxentum* < Πυξοῦς -οῦντος (a river and a town in Lucania) such a rendering of π occurred in Southern Italy at the time of Pyrrhus' expedition (3rd cent. B.C.) or whether both names were adapted, indeed translated, according to the two Graecisms *burrus* and *buxus* already existing in Latin.

But in the case of *tubus* the likelihood of its formal and semantic connection with στύπος in the Mycenaean age is substantiated by specific cultural data. As in the case of *fidēs*, we do not have the corresponding word in the Linear-B tablets — which is not surprising, since musical instruments are not mentioned there. Nevertheless, the development Myc. *p* > Lat. *b* may be safely postulated for *stupos* > *tubus* is not a unique instance [63]: the same sound correspondence occurs in other cases that will be dealt with further on, namely Myc. *palt-* 'missile' > Lat. *balt-* (§ 33) and Myc. *praktea* 'metal plates' > Lat. *bractea* (§ 34), where the combined evidence of linguistic and cultural data is enhanced by an attested Mycenaean form [64].

The peculiar treatment of the voiceless labial *p* and voiceless aspirate labial *ph* in Latin loanwords of Mycenaean origin cannot be evaluated for we do not know the phonemic system (with its physical realities) of the dialects spoken in 13th-century Latium, and it is a fact that hearers interpret the sounds of a foreign language through the 'phonological sieve' of their own mother-tongue [65]. As far as articulation is concerned, though, one may notice

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[63] The Arcadian origin of the *tubulustria* ceremony and of the first element of its compound name leads us to surmise the same origin for *lūstrum* 'purification ceremony' (Serv. *in Aen.* 3.279 *lustramur, id est purgamur*) with *ū* (Paul. Fest. p. 107.15 *uocabuli prima syllaba producitur* 'the first syllable of the word is pronounced long'), thus connecting it with Myc. **lewo-* > **lowe-* 'wash', *lewotro-* 'bath', alph. Gr. λούω, Hom. λοFετρόν (see Chantraine, p. 647 col. 2). However, the assumption of an inorganic *s* or a derivative in -στρον parallel with -τρον, theoretically possible (*Prestiti*, p. 52 note 16), cannot be ascertained, for Linear B does not write preconsonantal *s*.

[64] The need for cultural data to support linguistic correspondences cannot be overestimated especially in dealing with prehistoric Latin, for there might always be the chance of a correspondence Lat. *b* ~ Gr. π due to indirect connections (as is the case for late Lat. *burgus* ~ Gr. πύργος, whose explanation seems to lie in Germanic).

[65] N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonol.*², Göttingen 1958, p. 47 ff.

the consistency of such treatments in the sense that both concern the same set of occlusives (viz. the labials). The temptation might arise to add that there seems also to be a coherent sound shift in the interior of the Latin loan-word by which the aspirate voiceless *ph* of Mycenaean became the unaspirated *p*, and the unaspirated *p* of Mycenaean became the voiced *b*. Unfortunately, because the history of the tongues of early Latium is unknown, we cannot say whether those results are coeval and mutually conditioned in the sense of a real *Lautverschiebung* by which *ph* > *p* brought about *p* > *b*.

§ 29. However, a glimpse of the history of the dialect spoken in the Palatine area at the time of the Arcadian settlement may be gained from the observation of correspondences that will be dealt with in the respective chapters, namely Myc. *phorg^w-* > Lat. *forb-ea* 'food' (§ 70), Myc. *g^{w}oukarā* > Lat. *būcar* a vessel (§ 79), Myc. **wluk^{w}arkădes* > Lat. *lupercālēs* (§ 75).

The development *g^w* > *b* which occurs in *forbea* and *būcar* is precisely the treatment of the voiced labiovelar *g^w* that distinguishes Oscan, Umbrian, and other Italic tongues as against *g^w* > *u* of Latin: e.g. Indo-Eur. **g^{w}īwos* 'alive, live' > Osc. *bivus* nom. plur., Umbr. *bio* nom. sing. fem., Pael. *biam* acc. sing. fem., as against Lat. *uīuos*.

This development of Italic type occurs, exceptionally, in the Latin word for 'ox': Indo-Eur. **g^{w}ōus* > Lat. *bōs* like Umbr. *bum* and Volsc. *bim* acc. sing. (and for Oscan cf. the place-name *búvaianúd* 'Bouiano' abl.).

It is generally assumed that 'the form *bōs* presents a dialectal treatment *g^w-* > *b-* attested in Osco-Umbrian and which must also have existed in certain dialects of Latium; it is from such dialects that the word has been introduced into Rome. The importance of cattle-raising accounts for this loan-word, whose spreading may have been partly fostered by the fact that *bouis bouem* etc. avoided the repetition of *w* that would have occurred in *uouis* etc.'[66].

The latter motivation is hardly acceptable. The repetition of *w* is so common in Latin that it did not hamper a regular development in other words (*uīuos*, where *w—w-* is the Latin result of **g^w—w-*, is a case in point), and the areas of usage are so different in the overwhelming majority of occurrences that the confusion between forms of a Roman stem *uou-* 'ox' and the verb *uoueō* 'vow, consecrate' is hardly feasible (in fact, the religious language could have exploited it to build up alliterating formulae).

The former motivation, for a word like 'ox', implies a distinction between rustic and urban Latin that could not have existed when Rome had not yet been founded and its site was still a grazing ground (at this point

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[66] Ernout-Meillet, p. 74.

urban Latin could only have been the tongue of the city of Alba, whose officials supervised the district's shepherds) [67]. Nor could such a distinction be valid in the earliest period of Rome, when even the most prominent citizens practised stock-raising in the immediate environments of a town which already exerted its cultural and linguistic prestige [68].

In Rome, *bōs* is certainly a dialectal word, but only in the sense that it belongs to the local shepherds, viz. to the indigenous substratum of the primeval city itself, not to surroundings more or less distant from it.

A treatment parallel to that of $*g^w ous > b\bar{o}s$ (viz. the same development of a labiovelar into a labial) occurs in the Latin word for 'wolf': *lupus* < Indo-Eur. $*wluk^w os$, with $k^w > p$ which is another feature of Italic (Indo-Eur. $*penk^w e$ 'five' > Umbr. *pompe-* as against Lat. *quīnque*, Osc. *aapa-* 'water' as against Lat. *aqua*).

In this case, too, the current opinion must be corrected in the same way as for *bōs*. Ernout-Meillet, p. 370, maintains that in *lupus* 'Lat. *p* represents the Indo-European labiovelar, as the form comes without doubt from Osco-Umbrian dialects. Like *bōs*, it should be one of those Sabine words that penetrated into the language of Rome'. Ernout had previously supported this assumption with the remark that 'wolves were particularly numerous in the mountains of Samnium' [69].

As Bugge said almost a century ago, this assumption of a loanword from some Italic dialect is 'an unfelicitous makeshift' [70]. Apart from the fact that the Sabine and Samnite word for 'wolf' was not *lupus* but *hirpus*, Ernout's explanation is ruled out by the fact that the area where the Albans founded Rome in the 8th cent. B.C. was infested with wolves (so that the mythical she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus was no extraordinary creature for the Romans but the natural inhabitant of that place) [71]. It is not by mere chance that the aim of the oldest cult in Rome, the lupercal rite, was protection from wolves, no doubt the most dreaded animals in that stock-raising district. Even in the late republican age, a solemn expiation rite would have

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[67] Written sources (among them Fabius Pictor and Diocles of Peparethus, see Plut. *Rom.* 8.7 and cf. Dion. Hal. 1.85.1) recalled specifically that Numitor's herds were raised on the Aventine (Dion. Hal. 1.79.12, cf. 1.84.6) while Faustulus, 'keeper of the royal cattle' (Liv. 1.4.6), superintended cattle-raising for Amulius on the Palatine (Plut. *Rom.* 7.1). On Faustulus' high station see § 5 note 43.

[68] See e.g. *Origini*, II, p. 178.

[69] A. Ernout, *Les élém. dial. du vocab. lat.*, Paris 1909, p. 195.

[70] S. Bugge, *Beitr. zur Kunde der indogerm. Sprache*, XIV, 1889, p. 63.

[71] On this legend, which I suppose to have stemmed from the practice of sacred prostitution in prehistoric Latium, see *Italia linguistica nuova ed antica*, I, Galatina 1976, p. 173-177, and *Scritti in on. di G. Bonfante*, II, Brescia 1976, p. 673-686.

been needed because one or more wolves had been roving about town [72].

The population of primeval Rome is a mosaic that takes shape gradually, with the most various tesserae. The first layer is made up of the Aborigines, viz. the native substratum on which the colonists migrating from Alba super-impose themselves; they will be joined subsequently by several gruops from Etruria, Caenina, Antemnae etc., and eventually by the Sabines led by Titus Tatius.

In Latin words showing a treatment $g^w > b$ or $k^w > p$ a borrowing from Italic may be suspected whenever it is supported by specific cultural data [73]. But words like *bōs* < *$g^w\bar{o}us$* and *lupus* < *$wluk^wos$* should be regarded as elements of the dialect spoken by the indigenous shepherds raising cattle for the Alban landlords in the Rome area, where forms like *spīna* 'thorn' < *skwoinā* and *spīca* 'ear of grain' < *skwoikā* will also be autochtho-nous (§ 31).

The etymology Myc. *$wluk^wark\breve{a}des$* > Lat. *lupercālēs* (§ 75), which is *immédiatement évidente* both from a formal and a cultural viewpoint, wipes out the surmises which, realizing the untenability of the foreign origin of *lupus*, backdated its enigmatic *p* to the Indo-European age and denied any direct connection of *lupus* with Gr. λύκος 'wolf' [74].

At the time of the Arcadian settlement, the language of the Palatine shepherds (viz. the tongue of the Aborigines) preserves before a vowel the labiovelars k^w and g^w which existed also in Mycenaean. The form *lupercālēs* of the vocabulary of Roman religion shows that the Palatine labiovelars underwent a development identical with that shown by the Italic dialects, and that this happened before the founding of an Alban colony on the Palatine in the 8th century — i.e. before the mass arrival of a ruling class whose speech still maintained the labiovelars, which distinguish the language of Rome from the Italic dialects of the historic age.

As against such local words like *bōs* and *lupus*, the form *equus* 'horse' < *ekwos*, name of an aristocratic animal, is a term of the Alban nobility [75].

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[72] Examples in *Agricoltura*, p. 179-180.

[73] See e.g. the cases of *simpulum, piō, poena, popa* in *Sabinismi*, p. 29-41, and *fibula* in *Par. Pass.*, XXII, 1967, p. 226.

[74] See e.g. Walde-Hofmann, I, p. 836-837.

[75] We have only to remember Romulus' *celeres*, youngsters of the Alban aristocracy fighting on horseback (Dion. Hal. 2.13.1-3; for noblemen among the colonists see *ibid.* 1.85.3 and cf. 1.85.2 in.), and the ceremony of the *equirria* instituted by Romulus (*Agricoltura*, p. 182 note 63).

III

WEAPONS

§ 30. Arcadians fighting by the side of the Aborigines are cursorily mentioned by Dionysius [1] — which detail, given his customary adherence to the sources, implies a local tradition. The existence of specifically Roman stories about the warlike Arcadians is confirmed by a passage in the *Aeneid*, when Evander regrets: 'O if Jupiter would bring me back the years that are past, and make me again what I was when under Praeneste's very walls I struck down the foremost ranks, and burned victorious the up-piled shields, and with this right hand sent down to Tartarus king Erulus' [2] (where the anachronistic detail of the shields did not escape the ancients [3]). However, the existence of such traditions, no matter how old they were, does not guarantee their reliability.

When the same poet mentions 'Trojans, and men from Agylla [i.e. Caere

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[1] Dion. Hal. 1.42.3 οἱ συνεξελθόντες Ἡρακλεῖ..., Ἀρκάδες τέ τινες οἱ σὺν Εὐάν-δρῳ καὶ Φαῦνος ὁ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων βασιλεύς 'those who had accompanied Hercules [on his expedition against Cacus], some Arcadians with Evander, and Faunus king of the Aborigines'.

[2] Verg. *Aen.* 8.560-563 *o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,* | *qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa* | *straui scutorumque incendi uictor aceruos* | *et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi.* Cf. Lyd. *mens.* 1.11 Ἔρυλον τὸν περὶ Ἰταλίαν, ὃν κατασχὼν Εὔανδρος,... ἔσχε τὴν χώραν 'the Italian Erylos, whom Evander conquered, and held his territory'.

[3] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.560 *hoc traxit de historia: Tarquinius enim Priscus uictis Sabinis in honorem Vulcani eorum arma succendit: quem postea secuti sunt ceteri* 'he drew this detail from history: in fact, Tarquinius Priscus, after his victory over the Sabines, set their arms on fire in honour of Vulcan; thereafter his example was followed by the others'. See also § 33 note 31.

in Etruria [4]], and Arcadians with painted arms' [5], one might suspect he recalls
a feature of Arcadian military equipment which had caught the fancy of early
Latins and tallies with the Mycenaean use of chariots described at Knossos
as *mi-to-we-sa* /miltowessai/ 'painted red' and *po-ni-ki-ja* /phoinikiai/ 'painted
crimson' [6]. But once we read in Bacchylides about the 'crimson-shielded'
Argives [7] and bear in mind that in another passage Vergil depicts the Arca-
dians according to a custom attributed to them in one of Bacchylides' dithy-
rambs [8], we realize that it is impossible to assume that such details are actual
memories of early Latium rather than literary fictions.

As long as cogent data of other description are lacking, only linguistics
can reveal what is demonstrably Mycenaean and what must or may be assigned
to subsequent ages. And linguistic evidence does attest some influence of the
Arcadians in the fighting and hunting ways of early Latium.

§ 31. The Mycenaean origin of Lat. *cuspis* as the name for the point
of a throwing weapon (§ 25) shows beyond doubt that the colonists from
Pallanteion brought at least such a novelty in the field of arms. In the My-
cenaean world, 'flint and obsidian arrow-heads wonderfully worked bear
witness to an already time-honoured tradition, and they are found in large
quantities at every excavation in Pylos, while the palace tablets give evidence
on the production of bronze arrow-heads' [9], which also have come to light
in huge amounts (§ 35 note 42). One may wonder whether the borrowing
of the name *cuspis* means that the Arcadians introduced the arrow- or spear-

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[4] For connections between Arcadians and Etruria see Appendix I, p. 137 ff.

[5] *Aen.* 12.281 *Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis.* Many interpreters trivial-
ize *pictus* by translating 'decorated, blazoned' and the like, but cf. *Aen.* 5.663 *pictas
abiete puppis* 'painted sterns of pine', 7.431 and 8.93 *pictas ... carinas* 'painted keels',
closely reminiscent of Homeric νῆες μιλτοπάρῃοι 'red-cheeked ships' *Il.* 2.637, *Od.* 9.125,
and νέας φοινικοπαρῄους 'purple-cheeked ships' *Od.* 11.124, i.e. with bows painted.

[6] *Documents*, p. 366. Flint arrow-heads painted red in early Latium: G. Pinza,
Mon. ant., XV, 1905, col. 30 (Tomb VI between Frascati and Grottaferrata, Alban Hills)
and 22 (Tomb V at Sgurgola).

[7] Bacchyl. fragm. 9.10-12 Snell κεῖθι φοινικάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι | πρώτιστον Ἀργείων
κριτοί ἄθλησαν 'there the crimson-shielded demi-gods who were the flower of the
Argives held the very first jousts'.

[8] *Aen.* 11.93 describes, at the funeral of Pallas, *uersis Arcades armis* 'the Arcadians
with arms reversed' and Servius comments: *scuta etiam inuertentes propter numina illic
depicta, ne eorum simulacra cadaueris polluerentur aspectu, sicut habuisse Arcades Bac-
chylides in dithyrambis dicit* 'inverting also their shields, lest the likenesses of the gods
represented on them be polluted by the sight of the corpse, as the Arcadians used to do
according to Bacchylides in the *Dithyrambs* [fragm. 8 Snell]'.

[9] S. Marinatos, *Österr. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Anzeiger*, XCVIII, 1961,
p. 242.

head among people who still merely hardened the end of the shafts in the fire [10], or brought metal points to a region where stone heads were in use up to that time. Linguistic evidence suggests that the latter was, in fact, the case.

Latin has two words [11]

spīna < *speinā < *skweinā < *skwoinā 'thorn', and

spīca < *speikā [12] < *skweikā < *skwoikā 'ear' of grain

formed from Indo-Eur. *skwoi- 'prickle, thorn' with the suffixes -no- and -ko- respectively as in the parallel derivatives *kas-no-s > cānus 'grey-haired' (because of old age, cf. Pael. and Osc. casnar 'old') and *kas-ko-s > cascus 'old' [13]. Both spīna and spīca show p < kw which distinguishes the words belonging to the aboriginal substratum of the Rome area (§ 29) [14]. Beside the form spīca fem., there also existed an ancient spīcus masc. and spīcum nt. [15], that is to say there were two stems: spīca- and spīco-. It should be noted that Latin has two words for the point of a missile [16]: (1) cuspis, and (2) a diminutive of spīco-, i.e. spīculum, which, however, does not occur in its literal acceptation of 'little ear of grain' but simply in a figurative sense, for it designates only the point of an arrow, spear, etc. (then metonymically the weapon itself, and thence, figuratively, at times also the sting of animals).

The resemblance between the point of a missile and an ear of grain exists only if the latter is beardless: had it awns, these would extend in an upward direction, exactly opposite to that of the projections on a barbed missile-head (Fig. 3c). And in fact, the Latin name for 'awn', arista, may also mean metonymically 'ear of grain, spike', but never designates the point of a missile, nor its barb, for awns do not extend downwards. On the other

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[10] As in the ritual described by Liv. 1.32.12: fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ... ferret 'it was customary for the Fetial to carry a cornel-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire'.

[11] On these words of hitherto unknown origin see Sabinismi, p. 43 ff.

[12] The intermediate stage *speikā is substantiated by the peasants' variant spēca (Varr. agr. 1.48.2) with ancient and rustic ē < ei.

[13] An archaic form, see Varr. l. Lat. 7.28. Saufeius ap. Serv. in Aen. 1.6 says the earliest inhabitants of Latium Cascei uocati sunt, quos posteri Aborigines cognominarunt 'were named Casci, whom posterity called Aborigines'.

[14] Cf. perhaps Spino -ōnis (the quantity of the i in the stem is unknown), a small stream near Rome to which divine honours were paid: Cic. nat. d. 3.20.52 terra ipsa dea est ... ergo et flumina ... et in augurum precatione Tiberinum Spinonem Almonem Nodinum alia propinquorum fluminum nomina uidemus 'even the earth is divine, and therefore the rivers, too, and in the augurs' prayer we see the names of Tiberinus, Spino, Almo, Nodinus and other rivers in the neighbourhood' of Rome.

[15] Fest. p. 446.9-10 spicum masculine antiqui dicebant 'the ancients used to say spicus in the masculine'; spicum nt. in Varro ap. Non. p. 225.30.

[16] The point of a sword is called specifically mucro.

hand, the beardless ear of corn (Fig. 3b) has a striking resemblance to the arrow-head chipped from stone, with its surface and edges usually more or less undressed (Fig. 3a).

Fig. 3. a. Arrow-head chipped from stone (from M. Ebert, *Reallex. der Vorgesch.*, X, Berlin 1927-28, pl. 33). b. Beardless ear of grain. c. Awned ear of grain.

We have seen that Lat. *cuspis* continues Myc. *k^wsiphis*, a derivative of *k^wsiphos* which in PY Ta 716 is a one-edged knife whose blade was certainly of metal (§ 25). Whatever the form of the spear- or arrow-head imported by the Mycenaeans into early Latium, it may be assumed their *k^wsiphides* were metal points and represented a novelty as against the indigenous stone point called *skwoiklom* (> *spīculum*).

§ 32. In the semantic field of missiles to which *cuspis* belongs, Latin shows another term of Mycenaean origin: *balteum -ī* nt. (which is the most anciently attested form) and more often *balteus -ī* masc., 'baldric' (in poetry the plural is usually *baltea* nt. for metre's sake). This word is isolated not only among the names of the various types of belt in the Indo-European languages, but also within Latin, where *b-* is a rare and alien initial [17] and there are no other forms beginning with *balt-* save two very late derivatives of the term under scrutiny: a diminutive *balteolus* (4th-5th cent. A.D.) and the verb *balteō* 'gird' (5th cent. A.D.) — which also shows that the word has always been unproductive, as loanwords often are.

The name *balteum* properly designates the leather band passing over the shoulder to support a sword, a shield or a quiver.

As to its origin, the ancients were at a loss, all the more so as the isolation of *balteum* in Latin could not even favour folk etymologies. Varro, *faute de mieux*, says in his treatise on the Latin language that 'the baldric,

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[17] See Ernout-Meillet, p. 63, s.v. *b*.

because they used to wear a leather belt *bullatum* [i.e. with an amulet attached, called *bulla*], was named *balteum*' [18] — obviously an untenable explanation. The grammarian Charisius (4th cent. A.D.) prescribes that '*balteus* must be used always in the masculine, but Varro in his *Scaurus* gives it as *baltea* [nt. plur.] and affirms that the word is Etruscan. Likewise in his *Human Antiquities*, XVIII' [19]. Varro, then, interpreted by ear *balteum* as *bullatum*, and assumed that the word came in the days of old from Etruria because the Romans considered the *bulla* an amulet imported from there [20]. Modern linguists have overlooked the odd origin of Varro's statement and on the basis of his assertion attribute *balteum* to Etruscan, together with words like *galbeus* (a kind of armband) and *trabea* (a state robe) — in spite of the voiced *b*, which they regard as alien to Etruscan, so that in other cases (e.g. Lat. *triumpus* 'triumph' as against Gr. θρίαμβος) it is just the voiceless *p* that should warrant the Etruscan provenance of the word.

§ 33. A long list of Latin nouns ending in *-eo-* (*-eus -ea -eum*) for which an Etruscan origin is usually surmised was assembled by Ernout [21], who, after all, in many cases admitted only an Etruscan mediation between Greek and Latin. However, apart from the fact that a typically alien ending casts no more than a suspicion of foreign origin on the word involved (the Germanic suffix *-hood*, for example, does not justify a belief that Engl. *nationhood* is Germanic), in Rome *-eo-* is a most common hereditary suffix (< Indo-Eur. *-eyo-*) and there is not a single Latin word of unknown etymology in *-eo-* which finds a formal correspondence in Etruscan (where, on the other hand, there exists no similar ending, so that e.g. -εύς of Greek proper names is transformed into the Etruscan endings *-e -es -ei -eis*). Moreover, it is precisely from Ernout's list that it appears that in many Latin borrowings from Greek, whether direct or indirect, *-eo-* is the Latinization of diverse suffixes such as e.g. -ειο- -εο- -ιο-: *caduceus* or *-um* < καρύκειον, *culleus* (and *cūleus*) or *-um* < κο(υ)λεόν (or κολεός), *cuneus* < γώνιος, etc.

If the correspondence Lat. *b* ~ Gr. π (§ 27-28) is applied, the radical of *balt-eum* appears identical with Gr. παλτ- of παλτ-όν 'missile' (of various types: javelin, light spear).

In point of chronology, the connection is unobjectionable, for παλτόν is of Mycenaean age. In fact, Linear B preserves a derivative in -αιο-, viz.

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[18] Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.116 *balteum, quod cingulum e corio habebant bullatum, balteum dictum.*

[19] Char., *GLK*, I, p. 77.5-10 *balteus masculino genere semper dicitur ... sed Varro in Scauro baltea dixit et Tuscum uocabulum ait esse. item humanarum* XVIII.

[20] Fest. p. 430.7-9, Juv. 5.164, cf. Plin. *n.h.* 33.10, Plut. *mor.* 287f-288b (where Varro is also credited with another etymology, i.e. *bulla* < Aeol. βολλά 'counsel'), Macr. *sat.* 1.6.8 and 11.

[21] A. Ernout, *Philologica* [I], Paris 1946, p. 43 ff.

pa-ta-ja /paltaia/ plur. nt., which appears on three clay lumps from the Knossos 'Armoury'[22] (Fig. 4) together with an 'ideogram showing stick with point, perhaps a small throwing-spear or javelin, different from the ARROW ideogram on KN R 4482'[23] (Pl. II.5). Those clay sealings were attached, by a string passing through them, to the charred remains of two wooden boxes with bronze loop handles, containing 'the carbonised debris of the shafts, and, partly attaching to this, the remains of the bronze plates that had formed the central part of the arrow-heads'[24].
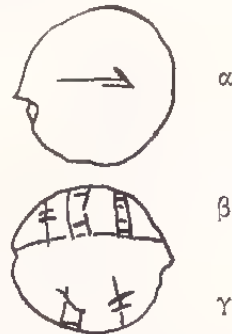
Fig. 4. One of the three inscribed clay lumps from the Knossos 'Armoury': KN Ws 8495, face α JAVELIN (cf. Pl. II.3), face β *pa-ta-ja*/ paltaia/ (cf. Pl. II.4), face γ *o-pa*.

The Pylos tablet Jn 829, where bronze quantities are recorded, confirms that *paltaia* nt. plur. is the name of missiles with a metal point: lin. 3

> *ka-ko   na-wi-jo   pa-ta-jo-i-qe   e-ke-si-qe   a₃-ka-sa-ma*
>
> /khalkón ... paltaíoihík^{w}e énkhesík^{w}e aiksmáns/
>
> 'bronze ... and the points for arrows and spears' or
>
> 'bronze ... as points for arrows and spears'[25].

It is irrelevant whether these *paltaia* are javelins ('light missiles hurled manually', Chadwick[26]), or arrows unfeathered like those the Lycians of Cretan origin used in Xerxes' army[27], and in either case different from the missiles represented in the same Knossian armoury by the said ideogram of the tablet R 4482[28] (apparently feathered shafts only, on which perhaps metal points had subsequently to be applied). Here it is sufficient to notice that Myc. **palto-*, from which *paltaion* nt. (plur. *paltaia*) derives, must have

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[22] KN Ws 1704, 1705, 8495.

[23] *Documents²*, p. 569.

[24] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, IV.2, London 1935, p. 836 f.

[25] *Documents*, p. 357 f., and cf. *Documents²*, p. 512.

[26] *Documents²*, p. 513.

[27] Hdt. 7.93.

[28] *Documents*, p. 358 and 361, cf. *Documents²*, p. 513 ff.

designated a missile as παλτόν in alphabetic Greek [29], and that in Rome *balteum* is a military term [30], viz. the name for the baldric supporting the shield (a usage which cannot be thought of among early Latins [31]) or a sword or a quiver for the darts: Verg. *Aen.* 5.311-313

> *alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis*
> *Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro*
> *balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma* [32].

It is then clear that Lat. *balteum* continues a derivative of Myc. **palto-* with an adjectival suffix, to indicate specifically the baldric for a quiver with the arrows [33] — unless *balteum*, perhaps more probably, is a back-formation from *baltea* nt. plur. < Myc. *paltaia* 'missiles' [34] interpreted in early Latium as the name of the baldric where they were carried [35]. In either case, the rendering of Gr. /ai/ by Lat. /ĕ/ is unobjectionable; as we have seen, in loanwords from Greek, -eo- is the Latin adaptation of diverse endings (especially in archaic and oral borrowings), and /-aio-/ is one of them: in fact, though the problem could be avoided by recalling that even comparatively late borrowings, as Meillet stressed, 'have complex histories that it is not always possible to reconstruct' [36], the normal historic-age development ἔλαι-Ϝον > **elaiwom* > **olaiwom* > **olēwom* > **olēom* > *olĕum* 'oil' shows that it is equally normal to assume Myc. *paltaion* > Lat. **baltēom* > *baltĕum*.

§ 34. These Mycenaean elements in the semantic field of weapons in Latin raise the question of some cultural and linguistic connection also in the domain of metals, all the more so if metals produced in Central Italy, as it

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[29] For Myc. **palto-* > *paltaio-*, specific names for different kinds of missiles, cf. Myc. *enkhos* > *enkheiā*, both names of spears ('what difference there was in meaning between ἔγχος and ἐγχείη is not clear', *Documents²*, p. 506).

[30] Isid. *orig.* 19.38.2 *balteum cingulum militare est* 'the *balteum* is a military belt'.

[31] Shields are a defensive arm unknown to early Latins before Romulus' age; see *Origini*, II, p. 67 ff.

[32] 'The second [winner will get] an Amazonian quiver, and filled with Thracian arrows, girt about with a broad gold belt and clasped by a buckle with a polished gem'. No doubt specific terms existed to distinguish the different baldrics, especially when two were used at a time, as in the case of Ajax who wore across his breast a baldric for the shield and another for a sword (*Il.* 14.404 f.); and in fact, *Not. Tir.*, ed. Schmitz, pl. 77, lists 74a *pharetra* and 74b *pharetrazonium*, i.e. **φαρετραζώνιον* 'quiver-belt' < φαρέτρα 'quiver for arrows', thus a specific term for that particular baldric.

[33] The Latin name of the quiver was *scrautum* (Fest. p. 448.26-28, cf. Ernout-Meillet, p. 604).

[34] Cf. the case of Lat. *bracteum*, § 34.

[35] For baldrics at Pylos see e.g. M.L. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor*, II, Princeton 1969, p. 46 and 71; for quivers in early Latium see e.g. G. Pinza, *Mon. ant.*, XV, 1905, col. 20.

[36] A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une hist. de la langue lat.*, Paris 1966, p. 90.

has been supposed, were among the main targets of Mycenaean trade in the Western Mediterranean.

Latin and Mycenaean names of metals, however, are either thoroughly different (e.g. Lat. *aurum* - Myc. *khrusós* 'gold', Lat. *aes* - Myc. *khalkós* 'bronze') or similar just because they are independent offsprings from a common antecedent, whether Indo-European (e.g. Lat. *argentum* - Myc. *árguros* 'silver') or supposedly Mediterranean (e.g. Lat. *plumbum* - Myc. *móliwdos* 'lead', if such is the meaning of the Knossian form) [37]. There is, though, definite linguistic evidence for a direct contact between Mycenaeans and Latins as far as metal processing was concerned.

The Pylos tablet Jn 750 records in the town *A-si-ja-ti-ja* the names of men like Psolon, Antiphamos, Eukalos etc. who belong to a special class of bronzesmiths (*khalkēwes*) called *pa-ra-ke-te-e-we* (nom. plur.) and have a-mounts of metal to work (*talansiān ékhontes*), the quantities of which are expressed with the weight symbols M (ideogram *117) and N (*116):

.1	*a-si-ja-ti-ja*	*ka-ke-we*	*ta-ra-si-ja*	*e-ko-te*					
.2	*pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*								
.3	*po-so-ro*	BRONZE	M 1	N 2	*ro-wo*	BRONZE	M 1	N 2	
.4	*a-ti-pa-mo*	BRONZE	M 1	N 2	*e-u-ka-ro*	BRONZE	M 1	N 2	

etc.

The Pylos tablet Jn 832 records another group of smiths with no quantities of metal to process, plus one *pa-ra-ke-te-e-u* with his allotment to work. Therefore, whether in that case the word is a proper name or a professional name which identifies the worker *tout court*, this *pa-ra-ke-te-e-u* is obviously the singular of *pa-ra-ke-te-e-we* and the specific designation of a bronzesmith performing particular duties, which have not yet been defined because the word is neither self-explaining nor continued in any way in alphabetic Greek. However, 'a name in -εεύς can derive only from a sigmatic stem ... and the *paraketeewe* can be but those who deal with the *paraketea₂*' [38] (nt. plur.), that is to say with something whose name was spelled in Linear B *pa-ra-ke-te-a₂* or *-a* (the two final signs alternate in such plurals, e.g. *pa-we-a₂* /pharweha/ ~ *pa-we-a* /pharwea/ φάρη 'pieces of cloth').

If the correspondence Gr. π ~ Lat. *b* is applied to this spelling *pa-ra-*

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[37] A. Meillet, *ibid.*, p. 87: 'It is a singular fact that while the languages of the great civilizations of the Mediterranean basin have given to Greek and Latin manifestly related names of cultivated plants, the names of metals differ thoroughly in Greek and Latin. Even the way of considering metals differs in one language from the other: in Greek, names of metals are masculine, which finds a parallel only in Old Prussian; in Latin, they are neuter, as it generally happens in the other Indo-European tongues'.

[38] M. Lejeune, *Historia*, X, 1961, p. 424 f. (= *Mém. de philol. myc.*, II, Roma 1971, p. 185) note 79; likewise L.R. Palmer, *Interpretation* cit., p. 280 and 442.

ke-te-a nt. plur. [39], the Mycenaean word coincides with Lat. *bractea* (thence *brattea*) fem. sing. 'thin metal plate', which is thus another case of the common Latin shift from nt. plur. to fem. sing. as e.g. in *opus -eris* nt. sing. > *opera* nt. plur. > *opera* fem. sing. And in fact *bractea* was originally a nt. plur., for glossaries preserve the nt. sing. *bratteum* 'flaminum lamina' [40], i.e. a technical term of religion, and thus surely archaic, for a lamina used by the Roman Flamens.

Lat. *bractea* is quite isolated and unproductive: all Latin words beginning with *brac-* are of foreign origin, and the few derivatives of *bractea* are late and uncharacteristic (*bratteola* dim. 1st-2nd cent. A.D., *bratteatus* 'plated' 1st cent. A.D., *brattearius* 'metal-beater').

No doubt *bractea*, of hitherto unknown etymology, was originally a collective equal to Myc. *praktea*, and the Pylian *prakteeus* was then a metal-beater (whom alphabetic Greek will call πεταλουργός and the like). This connection provides definite evidence for the diffusion of metallurgic techniques that followed the routes of the Mycenaean metal trade in the Western Mediterranean, as attest the copper ingots with Aegean signs which have come to light in Sardinia, and the discovery in Greece of a fragmentary stone mould to cast winged axes, typical of the Peschiera culture, found at Mycenae in the House of the Oil Merchant, destroyed in the LH IIIB period (latter half of the 13th cent. B.C.) [41].

§ 35. The importance of the work of the *prakteeus* may be gauged by the huge quantities of tiny barbed arrow-heads found both in Crete and on the mainland (see e.g. Pl. III), to which Evans appropriately gave the name of 'arrow-plates'. In fact, they are made of bronze sheet, and 'exiguous dimensions and thinness' are their distinguishing features (in Pylos their length is between 1.5 and 2 cm. and they weigh up to 1.5 gr. each). 'As has already been implied by the name given to them, they only supplied the points and cutting edges of arrow-heads of a much more solid appearance' and 'the two small holes visible just above the fork of the barb [Fig. 5] were clearly designed for metal rivets that secured the blade to the end of the wooden shaft, this being provided with a slit for their reception [Fig. 6b]. The end

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[39] It is very improbable that the Mycenaean spelling was read /braktea/ because words beginning with /brak-/ hardly exist in Greek: apart from a couple of cases where β represents ϝ (Aeol. βράκος a garment, but also 'reed', βράκετρον 'pruning-hook', and the same explanation seems valid for the semantically close βράκανα 'wild herbs', βράκαλον 'cudgel', βραχίας acc. 'rugged places', namely 'reed thickets'), there is only βραχεῖν 'συνιέναι, bring or set together' (with βράκετον 'multitude'). In any event, the quality of the initial labial would be irrelevant in the case under scrutiny, for the connection with Lat. *bractea* is self-evident.

[40] *CGL*, II, p. 406.27 and crit. app.

[41] F.H. Stubbings, *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 297 f.

of the shaft would itself have been pointed and hardened by exposure to fire' [42]. Once the 'blade' was applied, the end of the missile looked like the one in Fig. 6a [43]: a barb jutted out on either side of the shaft, so that one might also wonder whether this tiny piece of plate could have been named with a plur. *k^wsiphides* or a dual *k^wsiphide* to indicate the two small cutting-edges projecting laterally.

Fig. 5. Bronze arrow-plate from the Knossos 'Armoury' (enlarged by a quarter).
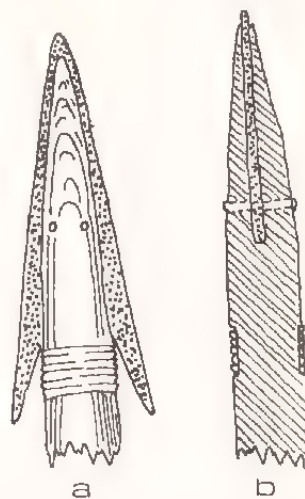
Fig. 6. Method of hafting the arrow-plate in the shaft, as suggested by A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, IV.2, p. 839.

In any event, the very size of such arrow-heads explains the name *k^wsiphis* (> Lat. *cuspis*), which is patently a diminutive of Myc. *k^wsiphos* formed with the suffix -ιδ- according to the pattern of σχαφίς -ίδος fem. 'skiff' < σχά-φος -εος nt. '(hull of a) ship', or 'small bowl' < σχάφη fem. 'bowl', etc. [44]

It hardly needs to be stressed that the Latin terms of Mycenaean origin *cuspis*, *balteum* and *bractea* belong to the same semantic field of throwing weapons [45]. It is an essential prerequisite that the etymology of each one of

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[42] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, IV.2, p. 839 f. At Pylos, in one hoard only (Pl. III), 501 such points were counted 'though there were probably a great many more' (C.W. Blegen - M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor*, I.1, Princeton 1966, p. 324 f.), and Ventris and Chadwick estimated that 'the total weight of bronze which can be totalled on all the surviving tablets (801 kg.) would make something like 534,000 arrow-heads' of this type (*Documents*, p. 356).

[43] Sketched after the drawing of Evans, *ibid.*, p. 839 fig. 818.

[44] See P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en gr. anc.*, Paris 1933, p. 342 ff.

[45] There is also a probable relationship between Gr. σφενδ-όνη (with a suffix most

the three words be individually acceptable from a formal and cultural view-point, but it is their interdependence as parts of one coherent nomenclature that substantiates the assumption that they are loanwords from the language of the warlike Arcadians, whom old king Nestor recalled as brave allies of the Pylians in his youth [46].

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often occurring in names of instruments) and Lat. *funda* 'sling', whose divergent vocalism may depend on a folk etymology, given its attested connection with *fundō* 'pour' and then transf. 'shoot repeatedly (missiles)'. Here again Lat. *f-* corresponds to Gr. σφ- as in loans from Mycenaean. Linear B texts, however, do not offer thus far any trace of the word (it is formally and textually unlikely that *pe-di-je-we*, a class of soldiers at Pylos, means 'slingers').

[46] *Il.* 7.134 ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι 'gathered together the Pylians and the Arcadians who fight with spears' (in a passage whose verses 132-135 seem echoed by Verg *Aen.* 8.560 ff. quoted in § 30); we shall lay no particular weight on that epithet of the Arcadians, though it refers to the semantic field of throwing weapons, for it seems to have a formulaic function (M. Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse*, Oxford 1971, p. 100).

IV

BUILDING

§ 36. Tradition has it that 'the Arcadians, having joined in a single settlement at the foot of the [Palatine] hill, adorned their colony with the buildings to which they had been accustomed at home, and dedicated temples'[1].

One may wonder whether this is substantiated by Mycenaean elements in the architectural terminology of Latin.

In fact, features common to buildings of the Aegean world and prehistoric Latium do not necessarily imply a direct borrowing of the relevant techniques. Their coincidence might be the independent outgrowth of a common antecedent (as Evans supposed in his time, § 46). A direct contact can be warranted only by univocal correspondences in the respective nomenclatures. In other words, it is the linguistic evidence which elucidates the history of archaeological facts. Linguistic correspondences, however, are factual only in so far as they accord with cultural data, and thus we shall start from the features of the Early Iron Age hut of the Palatine. These can be inferred both from the Latial cinerary urns, which are miniature replicas, more or less conventional, of the outer features of actual buildings, and from the floors of dwelling huts discovered in the Palatine area, which reveal the structure of these huts.

§ 37. Vitruvius, dealing with prehistoric constructions, based his assump-

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[1] Dion. Hal. 1.32.3 οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀρκάδες ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ συνοικισθέντες τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμουν τὸ κτίσμα τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἱερὰ ἱδρύονται. Also Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.3 relates that Evander got from Faunus *non paruum agri modum ad incolendum ... quem quis comitibus distribuit exaedificatis domiciliis in eo monte, quem ... postea nos Palatium diximus* 'no small quantity of land to live on, which he distributed among his companions once he had built dwellings on that hill that afterwards we called Palatium'.

tions not only on what could be then observed among foreign nations (*natio-nibus externis*, obviously the underdeveloped of the time) but also on the *casa Romuli* and other primeval huts[2] religiously preserved in their original structure at Rome[3]. And he inferred from them that prehistoric huts were likewise propped by two-pronged stakes, *furcae: primumque furcis erectis et uirgulis interpositis luto parietes texerunt* 'and first they set upright forked props and inserted small rods in between, and kneaded the walls with mud'.

In fact, in an Early Iron Age hut floor on the Palatine, sockets have been found for sturdy[4] poles thrust vertically into the ground, which provided the framework for the walls, while a central stake supported the roof (Fig. 7).

The obvious assumption that the upper end of such poles was forked is confirmed by some Latial hut urns where a horizontal beam is clearly discernible at the top of the roof (Pl. VIII)[5]. The beam is notably shorter than the hut's longitudinal axis, so that it did not exert a vertical burden anywhere on the walls: it only supported the slanting rods that were the framework of both sides of the sloping roof, and in its turn it had to rest solidly on a central pole. And to this effect, it is a forked pole that was obviously required in the middle of the building. The structure of the Palatine hut was thus substantially as it appears in Fig. 8.

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[2] Vitr. 2.1.5-6 *item in Capitolio commonefacere potest et significare mores uetusta-tis Romuli casa et in arce sacrorum stramentis tecta. ita his signis de antiquis inuen-tionibus aedificiorum, sic ea fuisse ratiocinantes, possumus iudicare* 'also on the Capitolium the hut of Romulus, and in the citadel shrines with their thatches, can remind us, and show the customs of antiquity; thus by these examples we can infer the ancient inventions of buildings, considering that they were similar'.

[3] See e.g. Dion. Hal. 1.79.11 βίος δ' αὐτοῖς ἦν βουκολικὸς καὶ δίαιτα αὐτουργὸς ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένοις διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκηνὰς αὐτορόφους· ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις τοῦ Παλλαντίου ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἱππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος Ῥωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξάγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λεῖπον ἐξακούμενοι καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐξομοιοῦν-τες εἰς δύναμιν 'their life was that of herdsmen and they lived by their own labour, generally upon the mountains, in huts which they built out of the same thatch by means of stakes and reeds; one of which, called the hut of Romulus, still remained to my day on the flank of the Palatine that faces towards the Circus, and is preserved as holy by those who have charge of these matters, without adding anything to make it more stately, but if any part of it suffers either from weather or time they thoroughly repair the damage and restore the hut as nearly as possible to its former condition'.

[4] The props of a Palatine hut were about 30 cm. in diameter and 1.70 m. high (A. Davico, *Mon. ant.*, XLI, 1951, col. 129).

[5] It is irrelevant that the Latial round hut urns may reproduce not common dwellings but cult buildings (as maintained by H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms*, Heidelberg 1959, p. 87 ff.), for they show specific structural details that were certainly common also to rectangular buildings like the Palatine huts.
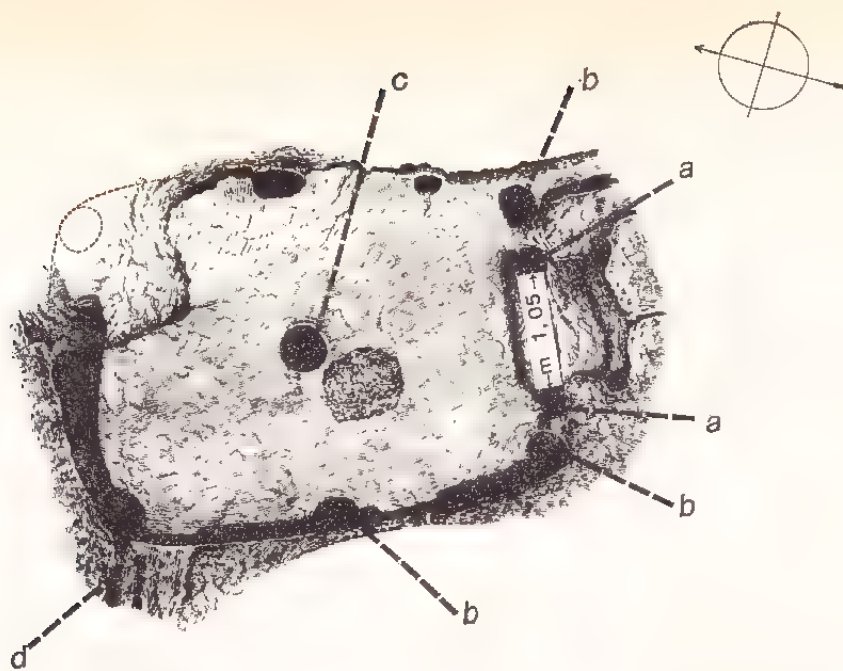
Fig. 7. Early Iron Age hut floor on the Palatine: a. sockets for the poles serving as door-posts; b. sockets for perimetrical poles supporting the walls; c. socket for the central stake supporting the roof; d. supposed drain (width 0.70 m.) that should correspond to an opening in the wall (cf. Fig. 8 and Pls. VI and VII).
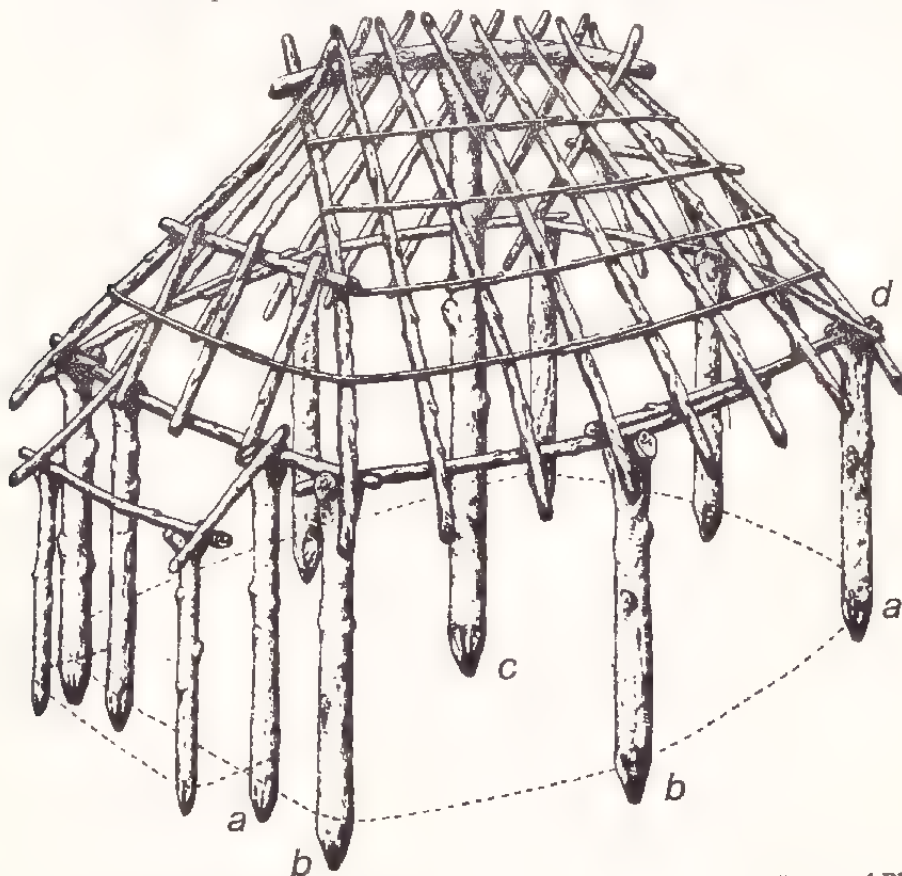
Fig. 8. Structural elements of an Early Iron Age hut of the Palatine (cf. Fig. 7 and Pl. VI).

§ 38. Now, the name of the two-pronged pole, *furca*, a word isolated in the Latin vocabulary and thus far without etymology, is the regular continuation of Gr. φόρκα acc. sing. (and the acc. plur. *furcas* corresponds to φόρκας), implied by the nom. plur. of Hesychius' gloss φόρκες · χάρακες [6]: thus a stem in *k*, like κόχλαξ masc. 'pebble in the bed of rivers', acc. κόχλᾱκα > Lat. *coclāca* fem. And in *furca* Gr. φ is rendered by *f* as in the Latin borrowings from Mycenaean [7]. Should φόρκες designate 'two-pronged poles', its explanation by χάρακες 'poles' would simply mean that Hesychius, as is often his wont, elucidates a specific term with a generic one (for instance, Ἀρτεμισία · βοτάνη, i.e. 'wormwood: a herb'). The gloss, however, is equally relevant in the case where φόρκες, as different from its Latin continuator, meant 'poles' in general. In fact, it is typical of loanwords to have only one specific sense instead of the whole semantic range of their source (e.g. French *rouge* 'red' in general > Engl. *rouge* specifically 'red powder used as a cosmetic', Engl. *girl* > French *girl* 'chorus-girl'), and *furca* in Latin is precisely a specific term, distinct from the general names for a stake like *pālus*, *stīpes*, *sudis*, etc., and also from the name for a three-pronged fork (*fuscina*). It refers to a stake provided with two tines, but not to the pitchfork used in agriculture, since it almost never occurs in such an acceptation — and in fact that agricultural implement was called *mergae -ārum* or *merges -itis*, while the general term for a forked pole was *uallus*. Lat. *furca* is the specific name for any kind of two-pronged pole that serves as a prop in a structure, e.g. the hut. It is, then, a technical term used in building.

§ 39. Another notable feature of the prehistoric hut in Latium is a single large window which opened almost invariably in the wall to the left of those who face the door (see e.g. Fig. 9 and Pl. IX.2).

Windows in perimetrical walls are not so common as one might think nowadays. For instance, they were unknown in most of Scandinavia until the 16th century (and the spreading of continuators of Lat. *fenestra* 'window' in Celtic and Germanic tongues is a clear case of the diffusion of this novelty

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[6] This form cannot be, as some have thought, Lat. *furca* plur. *-ae*, which Greek would render with a form in *-α/-η* plur. *-αι* (not *-ες*) and with ου for *u*; cf. the transcription of the Latin word as φοῦρκαν acc. sing. in Plut. *mor.* 280f and *Cor.* 24.5.

[7] For Lat. *ur* < Gr. oρ cf. e.g. *purpura* < πορφύρα and *amurga* < ἀμόργη Dor. *-ργα (*amurca* might be merely an archaic spelling transmitted through early writings on agriculture, see Ter. Maur., *GLK*, VI, p. 351.898 ff., and Serv. *in georg.* 1.194, with no need for attributing it to Etruscan) and cf. W.M. Lindsay, *The Lat. Lang.* cit., p. 32 f., 235 f., and 239.

together with its original name) [8]. The window is characteristic of Mycenaean architecture [9], and its Latin name *fenestra*, a word hitherto of obscure origin, can be traced back to a Greek source and presents, like *furca*, the treatment of Gr. φ- attested in Latin borrowings from Mycenaean.

Fig. 9. Hut urn from Tomb VIII of Villa Cavalletti (Grottaferrata, Alban Hills).

The state of the etymology was thus summed up by Ernout-Meillet, p. 225: 'one thinks of a suffix of instrument, but there is hardly any evidence of *-trā* in Latin (cf. *aplustra* Graeco-Etruscan)' — where the recourse to Etruscan is unwarranted.

It should be noticed that all Latin nouns in *-stra* are technical terms (*colostra* 'beestings' of stock-raising, *flustra* 'calm at sea' of navigation, etc.), and those of known origin, whether direct or indirect borrowings, are Graecisms whose ending has various antecedents: -στρα in recent loanwords (*orchestra, palaestra* etc.) and the most diverse antecedents in ancient ones like *aplustra* 'stern' plur. < ἄφλαστα plur. also referred to a single ship, *mollestra* a sheepskin < μηλωτή, μαλλωτή, etc., or in doublets like *ballista / -stra* a military engine < *βαλλιστάς -τής, *lepista / -stra* a goblet < λεπαστή λεπάστη (cf. λέπαστρον a fishing implement). Therefore, the ending *-stra* offers no appreciable clue to the etymologists.

Ernout-Meillet remarks: 'The ancient etymology "ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνειν" [i.e.

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[8] F. Behn ap. M. Ebert, *Reallex. der Vorgesch.*, III, Berlin 1925, p. 226-228; C.D. Buck, *A Dict. of Selected Synonyms*, Chicago s.a. [1949], p. 469-470.

[9] See e.g. J.W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, p. 162 ff.

from Gr. φαίνω "give light, shine"], Non. 36.11, is but a pun' (which is also the source of several modern etymologies, see Walde-Hofmann, I, p. 478). 'There is also a form *festra* ... of which *fenestra* is perhaps a deformation due to a connection with φαίνω'.

§ 40. It is clear, though, that a 'deformation' of *festra* in the current form *fenestra* as a result of a connection with a Greek word would be the product of erudition, not a folk etymology, and, what is more, the linking with φαίνω could have been prompted only by a form which already showed *n*. The 'deformation' *fenestra* is actually not a consequence but a prerequisite of the Greek etymology contrived by the ancients and the moderns.

The exact meaning of *festra* appears from a passage of Macrobius: 'Antonius Gnipho, a learned man whose school Cicero used to frequent after the toil of public affairs, demonstrates that the Salians were appointed to Hercules' service in that book where he discusses what is a *festra*, which is a rather small opening in a shrine, a word Ennius also used' [10].

It turns out that *festra* was an ancient [11] religious term, still used in its technical acceptation by Ennius (239-169 B.C.), but no longer current in the 1st cent. B.C. In fact, M. Antonius Gnipho (about 114-64 B.C., a commentator of Ennius' annals) or a disciple of his school discussed *festra* in a book which was a scholarly monograph on the word itself, whose title was *quid sit festra* ('what is a *festra*') — though the lexical problem ostensibly provided the opportunity for interweaving learned excursuses (the author, for instance, dealt also with the Salian priests, which confirms the religious character of *festra*).

Therefore, as it is impossible, as we said, to assume a development *festra* > *fenestra* brought about by Gr. φαίνω, it is equally impossible to admit the opposite development *fenestra* > *festra*, a surmise which would be formally acceptable but is culturally untenable. As a matter of fact, *fenestra* could develop into *festra* /fēstra/ under the action of the initial stress: *fénestra* > *fenstra* > *festra*, and in such a case, if the archaic *festra* was retained only in written tradition by the 1st cent. B.C., when it survived as a topic for philological discussions, that form could also represent /fenstra/ with a spelling analogous to forms like *cosol cesor* of *CIL*, I²2,8 (c. 230 B.C.). If this were true, however, the initial stress would have affected *fenestra* only in the nomenclature of religion, namely in the technical language of a

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[10] Macr. *sat.* 3.12.8 *Antonius Gnipho, uir doctus cuius scholam Cicero post laborem fori frequentabat, salios Herculi datos probat in eo uolumine quo disputat quid sit festra, quod est ostium minusculum in sacrario, quo uerbo etiam Ennius usus est.*

[11] Paul. Fest. 80.27 *festram antiqui dicebant, quam nos fenestram* 'the ancients called *festra* what we call *fenestra*'.

highly learned and conservative class. Paradoxically enough, *fenestra* would then be the more ancient form, preserved intact by current and non-technical usage, untouched by the general impact of the initial stress.

It ensues that neither is *festra > fenestra* nor *fenestra > festra* acceptable. Once the derivation of one form from the other is ruled out, *festra* and *fenestra* must be envisaged as doublets, one learned and the other popular, that is to say as two independent continuators of the same antecedent which co-existed at different levels: (1) the language of religion, learned, archaic, conservative, technical (*festra*), and (2) the language of current usage, non-technical and open to change (*fenestra*).

§ 41. A trisyllabic *fenestra* and a bisyllabic *festra* that have a common source must go back to a trisyllable the first two syllables of which show the same vowel (i.e. *fexestra*) and thus may coalesce into one syllable (i.e. *fēstra*). In the language of Rome *fē-* can result from the two syllables *fehe-* (cf. e.g. **ne-hemō > nēmō*), *feye-* (cf. e.g. Indo-Eur. **treyes > trēs*), and *fewe-* (cf. e.g. *suēueram > suēram*), and in fact Latin of the historical age has no word beginning with those bisyllabic groups. Thus, the common antecedent of the forms under scrutiny could theoretically be *fehestra*, *feyestra* or *fewestra*.

If we turn our attention to the Greek names of the window, we find φάος < *φάϝος gen. φάεος < *φάϝεσ-ος (Att. φῶς φωτός) lit. 'light', and its Argolic derivative φαυστήρ -ῆρος [12] which represents an earlier *φαϝεσ-τήρ (with the suffix -τήρ of nouns denoting agent or instrument, attested in Mycenaean).

One of the three possible antecedents of Lat. *fenestra ~ fēstra* 'window', i.e. **fewestra*, is so close to the acc. sing. **φαϝεστῆρα* 'window' (lit. '[opening] that gives light') that the resemblance could hardly be coincidental, and here again the word is borrowed in the form of the accusative, as usually happens when it spreads by word of mouth (masc. **φαϝεστῆρα* acc. sing. > **fewestra* fem. nom. like φόρκα acc. sing. > *furca* fem. nom.) and Lat. *f-* corresponds to Gr. φ- as in loanwords from Mycenaean.

It is not irrelevant that the primary function of the window in an Iron-Age dwelling in Latium was to let light into the room, since the triangular vent-holes clearly shown in the roof of the hut urns [13] (Pl. VIII, cf. IX.2) acted both as chimneys and for ventilation purposes.

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[12] *IG*, IV² 1,109 (Epidaurus 3rd cent. B.C.) ii.105 and 147, iii.75-76; one doubts whether here φαυστῆρες means 'large windows' or 'candelabra', but at any rate this is the epigraphical attestation of the Argolic form corresponding to the Attic form of Hesychius' gloss φωστήρ· θυρίς i.e. 'window'.

[13] Should S.M. Puglisi, *Mon. ant.*, XLI, 1951, col. 69-71, be right in recognizing a window in the Palatine dwelling of Fig. 7 (reservations in A. Davico, *ibid.*, col. 133

The development may be assumed e.g. to be: *phawestĕra* > *fawestĕra* > *fewestĕra* and then through the phase of the initial stress *féwestĕra* > *féwestera* > *féwestra* and thereafter *fewéstra* whence (1) *fēstra* and (2) *fenéstra*.

This is a purely theoretical construction for the sake of explanation, of course, for the exact sequence of certain intermediate stages cannot be ascertained. For instance, we do not know at which point of the chain the development *ph-* > *f-* occurred in Latin, nor when the original *ē* was shortened [14], and when current usage created the variant *fenestra*. At any rate, the assimilation *a-e-é*) > *e-e-é* must be earlier than the period of the initial stress, for this would have given predominance to *a* and thus brought about either an assimilation like e.g. *fáwestera* > *fáwastera* > *fástra* or, with the normal reduction *-awe-* > *-au-*, a development *fáwestera* > *fáustera* > *fáustra*.

Lat. *fēstra* is the normal result of **fewestra*, since *-w-* regularly disappears between identical vowels (e.g. *lauātrīna* > *lātrīna*, *suēueram* > *suēram*), and thus the religious language has maintained the genuine form **fewestra* with a normal sound evolution. Unlearned usage, on the other hand, has developed from **fewestra* a form *fenestra*, no doubt by some folk etymology (maybe according to *fēnum* 'hay' — the Latial hut was thatched and its walls were made of wattle and straw daubed with mud) [15].

If the present etymology of *fenestra* is correct, it must be inferred that the preconsonantal *s* of Mycenaean disappears in Latin only at the beginning of a word, not in medial position (and this, at least from a formal viewpoint, brings into the number of possible Mycenaeanisms also Lat. *capisterium* < σκαφιστήριον, a vessel for cleansing grains of corn) [16].

§ 42. The upper ends of the *furcae* were certainly linked with transverse beams, which not only provided a rigid connection for those propping poles, thus increasing their stability, but also supported the joists of the thatch slopes. Besides, as already said, some more detailed Latial hut urns clearly reveal the presence of a horizontal beam placed on the top of the roof and with which the ends of the joists on each side of the roof were linked pairwise (cf. Fig. 8) [17].

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f.), the opening would be closer to the rear than to the front of the hut, no doubt for the benefit of that part of the interior which most lacked light and air.

[14] Though it is reasonable to attribute its shortening and subsequent disappearance to the initial stress; cf. ἄγκυρα > *ancora*, πλακοῦντα acc. > *placenta*, κρηπῖδα acc. > *crepida*, ποτῆρα acc. > *patera* (see *Aspetti*, p. 157), and for the disappearance cf. σπυρίδα acc. > *sporta*, ὄρυγα acc. > *orca* (see also W.M. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* cit., p. 155-156).

[15] Thus a folk etymology analogous to στέγαστρον > *segestre* 'a covering of straw or hides' after *seges* 'standing corn, crop' (Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.166). The fact that the form with *n* (*fenestra*) does not belong to the language of religion should rule out a blend with *fānum* 'sacred place', which had also a derivative *fānester -tris*.

[16] On this word see *Micenei*, p. 343.

[17] It is here irrelevant that the ribs on top of the roof in many of the hut urns

At this point we may also consider that Lat. *trabs* 'beam'[18], a word of hitherto unknown origin, goes back to a Greek antecedent and shows the treatment $b < \pi$ peculiar to borrowings from Mycenaean.

Until the present time the etymology of *trabs* has also hesitatingly lingered about Gr. τράφηξ, which means (1) 'beam' in the framework of the ἑλέπολις, an engine for sieges, c. 3rd cent. B.C., (2) 'gunwale' on which the rowlocks are fixed, 377-6 B.C., (3) 'spear', 3rd cent. B.C., (4) 'board, plank', and (5) 'baker's board' — all specifications of the general meaning 'beam'.

However, beside τράφηξ Hesychius quotes other forms: τράπηξ 'spear', τρόφηξ 'pole', τρόπηξ 'handle of an oar'. It is then evident that τράφηξ τρόφηξ τράπηξ τρόπηξ are but dialectal variants of the very same word, belonging to the ancient group of nouns in -ᾱκ- -ηκ- denoting the instrument[19], which derive from a simple form sometimes attested, like e.g. πόρπ-η 'brooch, clasp' > πόρπ-αξ -ᾱκος 'handle of a shield' (properly the ring or loop inside the shield), and sometimes conjecturable, like e.g. *oisā* inferred from the comparison of οἰήϊον 'rudder, helm' with Dor. οἴαξ -ᾱκος Ion. -ηξ -ηκος 'rudder tiller'. The simple form from which τρόπ-ηξ derives, i.e. τρόπος, is attested in Moschio (3rd cent. B.C.[20]) and is still alive in Euboea, at Konistrai, Kyme and surrounding villages, where today 'the timbers supporting both ends of the wine barrels, in order to prevent their bellies from touching the floor' are called τρόποι; 'those pieces are usually curved tree-trunks to fit the shape of the barrels, so that these stay put and do not turn'[21]. Therefore, we could infer that τρόπος means 'curved beam'. However, these supports are 'usually' curved, which means that that shape is prevalent, not exclusive, and in any event, if the sense of τρόπος really were 'curved beam', this should be

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(Pl. VIII) are not the outer projection of the joists, as many have thought, but represent covering poles placed astride the ridge, as pointed out by A. Andrén, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XXXII, 1959-60, p. 50-51 note 73. Such poles serving to weigh down the thatched roof are still used in peasant houses in Scandinavia and Germany (E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, II, Lund 1956, p. 30 note 1).

[18] According to Varr. *l. Lat.* 7.33 the most ancient form was *trabēs*, but in all likelihood this was simply a singularized plural, since Paul. Fest. p. 504.4 specifies that the word properly meant two timbers joined together (*trabs proprie dicitur duo ligna compacta*), i.e. was a technical term of building to designate a truss-beam. This calls to mind the timbers joined pairwise in the covering of the Latial hut.

[19] P. Chantraine, *Formation* cit., p. 381: 'Homeric examples are few, though they are ancient familiar or expressive words. The suffix does not seem to have been productive in the historical period'.

[20] Moschio ap. Athen. 5.208c (according to Aurispa's cod. Marcianus) παραρτήματα [cod. -τρήματα] ἐκ τρόπων παχέων συγκείμενα διὰ ἁλύσεων χαλκῶν κρεμάμενα 'appendages composed of thick beams suspended by means of bronze chains'.

[21] Β. Φάβης, Ἀνάλεκτα φιλολογικά, in Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον τῆς Μέσης καὶ Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, Suppl. to Ἀθηνᾶ, XXVII, 1915, p. 152-153.

a later specification due to the prevailing form of those timbers, also on account of a connection by ear with τρόπος 'turn' < τρέπω 'to turn', as obvious to the etymological instinct of local speakers as it is to learned philologists [22]. In fact, the meanings 'spear', 'handle of an oar', etc. of the derivatives in -ηξ just mentioned substantiate the conviction that τρόπος originally meant 'beam', thus usually a straight piece of timber, and rule out any original connection with τρέπω.

Just as τρόπ-ηξ is a derivative of τρόπος, the variant τράπ-ηξ implies an antecedent *τράπος 'beam', and it is precisely with this that Lat. *trabs* can be connected, both formally and semantically, though the details of the loan are still debatable [23].

§ 43. Thus far we have dealt with correspondences between Latin terms and their Greek counterparts surmised to be Mycenaean, but none of which, however, is found in the extant Linear-B tablets (where the nomenclature of building has left only very faint traces in PY Vn 46). Such correspondences may then gain strength if a Latin word of the same semantic field can be produced which goes back to an attested technical term of Mycenaean and cannot continue a later form of alphabetic Greek. This term is *clāuis* 'key'.

The Greek names of the key, viz. (1) Dor. κλᾱΐς -ΐδος [ῠ] and -ῖδος [ῑ], Ion. (Hom.) κληΐς -ῖδος [ῑ] and (2) Dor. κλάξ κλαϊκός acc. κλᾶϊκα, present two stems which are extensions, with a suffix in *d* and respectively *k*, of a stem *klāwi-* attested in Mycenaean only: *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* 'key-bearer', title of a religious functionary at Pylos. This compound is to be read /klāwi-phóros/, as proved by the proper name of a Pylian smith: *ka-ra-wi-ko* /klā-wískos/, a derivative in -ίσκος which would reveal the final consonant of the stem, should this end in *d* or *k* as in alphabetic Greek (in other words, one would have e.g. /klāwid-ískos/ κλαϝιδίσκος like *ti-ri-po-di-ko* /tripod-ískos/

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[22] E.g. Frisk, II, p. 923, Chantraine, p. 1132 col. II.

[23] An alternance between *o*-stems and stems in *i* or consonant is well known in archaic Latin (e.g. *mānos / mānis* 'good', see W.M. Lindsay, *The Lat. Lang.* cit., p. 181 ff.) and affects also comparatively recent Graecisms like *hilarus / -is* 'cheerful' < ἱλαρός (both in Plautus). Though from a source other than Arcadian (as shown by *p* < π), another Greek masculine *o*-stem inflected in Latin as a feminine of the third declension like *trabs* < τράπος is *puls pultis* < πόλτος 'porridge' (the food of the Romans before they got acquainted with bread, remnants e.g. in tomb C of the Forum, c. 10th cent. B.C., G. Boni, *Not. sc.* 1903, p. 158). Similar loans could be **utris > *utṛs > uter* 'water skin' as against Myc. *u-do-ro* /hudros/ a vessel, and *caulis* masc. 'stem of a plant' as against Gr. καυλός (the only Indo-European form to have exactly the same meaning as Latin; Walde-Hofmann, I, p. 189, disposes of the matter quite cursorily: καυλός 'by no means the source of *caulis* since the shift to an *i*-stem is more understandable in a hereditary word than in a loan').

τριποδίσκος 'small tripod', attested at Mycenae and, as a personal name, also at Pylos).

Thus Myc. *klāwi-phóros*, whatever the official's attributes at Pylos, has the same literal meaning 'key-bearer' as the religious titles of alphabetic Greek κληϊδοφόρος κλακοφόρος etc. (cf. the title and office of the κληδοῦχος κλαδοῦχος etc. 'key-holder'), but not the same form. Its form is more ancient, and either the title was remodelled when *klāwi-* was replaced by an enlarged stem or is not continued in any later Greek dialect: in either case, *klāwi-* appears to be peculiar to Mycenaean.

§ 44. This fact now clarifies the etymology of Lat. *clāuis* 'key'. The terms of the problem were formulated by Ernout-Meillet, p. 125, as follows: 'it is difficult to decide whether this word is cognate with or borrowed from Dor. κλᾱΐς ... stemmed from *κλᾱϝίς ... Besides, *clāuis* and *clāuos* ["nail"] designate the same object: the primitive lock originally consisted of a nail or wedge passed through a ring. As things became more complicated, the distinction between *clāuis* and *clāuos* was brought into usage'.

However, it looks unlikely that the specialization of the word for 'nail' in the technical sense of 'key' occurred independently in both Latin and Greek with the same and quite peculiar development of an *i*-stem, viz. *clāuis* < *clāuos* like κλᾱϝι- < *κλᾱϝ(ο)-, an unattested form where, incidentally, the end vowel o is assumed after Lat. *clāuos*.

Besides, Latin has no trace of *clāuos* 'nail' as the name of a locking device — and this is natural, since, as far as we know, the most primitive way of securely closing the door of a Latin hut was by bolting it not with a nail but with a bar of considerable length.

It is precisely the bronze or copper pins used to close the Latial hut urns which show that any recourse of the etymologist to pins or nails is off the point. For instance, the urn from Tomb VIII of Villa Cavalletti (Grottaferrata, Alban Hills [Fig. 9]), dating back to about the 10th cent. B.C., shows a trapezoidal door opening, closed by a convex slab of the same shape, which once put into place formed a continuous curb with the walls. The slab is flanked by two vertical ribs indicating the door-posts, and is provided with a transversely perforated projection in the centre, corresponding to those in the centres of the door-posts. Now, it is true that the door was closed by passing a bronze pin through the perforations of the posts and the slab (this pin, which is still extant, had one of its ends flattened and rounded)[24]. How-

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[24] Bronze pin: G.A. Colini and R. Mengarelli, *Not. sc.* 1902, p. 152; P.G. Gierow, *The Iron Age Culture of Latium*, II.1, Lund 1964, p. 86; *Civiltà del Lazio primitivo*, Roma 1976, p. 74. This pin, with one head flattened and rounded, shows that one end of the bolt must somehow have been such as to prevent it from sliding out of

ever, this urn (maximum height 27 cm.) is a miniature replica of the Latial hut, and the bronze pin stands in lieu of a bolt longer than the entire width of the door in the actual dwelling [25]. In the Iron-Age Palatine hut whose whole plan can still be calculated (Fig. 7), the door-space is about 1.05 m. wide. Making due allowance for the two holes about 25 cm. in diameter drilled at either side of the entrance (Fig. 7a) and in which poles were thrust to serve as door-posts, it must be inferred that the bolt, whatever its material, was a solid bar longer than 1.55 m. — clearly too long to be considered a nail. And as the bolts of similar huts, as shown in the urn from Tomb I of Campofattore (Marino) [26], had to pass through the loops of the poles beside the door-posts (cf. Pl. V), their length must have been far greater. The 'key' of the primitive Latial hut was thus a long wooden bar, much more like the κληΐς of Achilles' quarters than a nail: *Il.* 24.453-455

> θύρην δ' ἔχε μοῦνος ἐπιβλὴς
> εἰλάτινος, τὸν τρεῖς μὲν ἐπιρρήσσεσκον Ἀχαιοί,
> τρεῖς δ' ἀναοίγεσκον μεγάλην κληῖδα θυράων

'and one single bar of fir held the door — a great door bolt that three Achaeans were wont to drive home, and three to put back'.

Thus, in Latin, *clāuis* 'key' and *clāuos* 'nail' are semantically distinct and the objects they refer to are unrelated. Mycenaean has *klāwis* 'key' identical with Lat. *clāuis* in both meaning and form, and, since the opposite can be ruled out, it is to be assumed that the Latin word is a loan from a Greek source. As such, however, it cannot go back to an enlarged stem like *klāwid-* or *klāwik-* of alphabetic Greek. The most ancient borrowings from Greek usually enter Latin in the form of the accusative, or anyway retain the final consonant of their stem. The two loanwords in -ĭd- of Mycenaean origin *cuspis -idis* < *k^wsiphis -idos* and *capis -idis* or *capida -ae* < σκαφίς -ίδος acc. -ίδα, and the later borrowing *cassis -idis* or *cassida (cassila) -ae* < κοττίς

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one of the post loops. How the bolt worked when the hut had to be shut from the inside is a matter for speculation. I can imagine that the other end was provided with a cord or thong. Once the door had been put partly into place so as to leave just a small space to go through, and part of the bolt had been passed through the loops of one post and of the door, one would enter the hut and then pass the cord or thong through the loop of the respective post; after which one would let the door run completely into its ground socket and pull (and then fix) the cord or thong from the inside, so as to keep the bolt firmly in place. A much less complicated solution, of course, is to think that in the actual hut the door was closed from the inside with the same system which in the hut urn can only be external. This, however, would not affect the measurements calculated on the plan of Fig. 7.

[25] G. Pinza, *Mon. ant.*, XV, 1905, col. 472: 'that bar, which for technical reasons is always represented in the urns by a thin metal stick, no doubt was actually a thick branch or wooden beam'.

[26] See e.g. P.G. Gierow, *op. cit.*, p. 117 f. and fig. 61; *Civiltà* cit., pl. VIII.B.

-ίδος acc. -ίδα (§ 16 ff.) are cases in point. In such examples, the form which preserves (or continues) the original *d* of the stem is the rule: *-is -idis* or *-ida -ae* (or *-ila -ae*); a collateral form in *-is* gen. *-is*, when it exists, is quite exceptional. Should the Latin name of the key derive from alphabetic Greek, one would reasonably expect a trace of the stem-ending consonant (e.g. κλᾱϝις -ῖδος > *clāuis -ĭdis* or *clāuĭda / clauda -ae*) [27].

As already supposed by Chadwick [28], Lat. *clāuis* is a loan. It continues the Mycenaean form **klāwis*, perhaps from the acc. **klāwin* (cf. *clāuim* Plt. *Most.* 425), and thus is inflected like the *i*-stems of the third declension.

This fact is only the linguistic aspect of the identity of the closing systems of the huts both in prehistoric Latium and the Aegean world which must be assumed on the evidence of the hut urns: 'it is impossible not to be struck by the singular parallelism between these Cretan hut-urns [Pl. IX.1] and those of the Early Iron Age cremation interments of Latium and Etruria ... we find an absolute correspondence in the arrangement of the doorway with the ear-like projections of its side posts, perforated for the cross-bar' [29].

§ 45. Of the terms dealt with in this section, *clāuis* merely implies the borrowing of a locking device, and it cannot be said whether this was an absolute novelty or simply the improvement of some already existing system.

On the other hand, the three loanwords *fenestra*, *furca* and *trabs* are so interrelated that they point to the importing of a thoroughly new building technique in prehistoric Latium. A large side window required a solid wall structure, such as could be achieved with the insertion of sturdy stakes as a framework, and it is significant that both *fenestra* and *furca*, rendering φ- by *f-*, belong to the same layer of Greek loanwords of the Mycenaean age.

Besides, the use of transverse beams must have been required, not only to connect the *furcae* of the walls but also to support the thatch slopes. And *trabs* 'beam' features *b* < π that distinguishes Latin borrowings from Mycenaean.

One need not take for granted that forked props were unknown before then, though this might actually have been the case, but it must be inferred from this coherent set of borrowings that the prehistoric Latins got a technique for building more spacious, lighted and solid dwellings from Greek newcomers; and, conversely, that before then they could not afford to weaken

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[27] Lat. *claudō* 'to close' < **klauzdó* < **klāwizdō* is borrowed from a form representing a comparatively late stage of the Greek development **klāwidyō* > **klāwidzō* > **klawizdō* > κληΐζω, see *Antichità*, p. 211 f. As to *clāua* 'knotty branch or stick, club', a collective in *-ā* of *clāuos*, see Walde-Hofmann, I, p. 229.

[28] *Documents*[2], p. 551.

[29] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II.1, London 1928, p. 130 f.; cf. H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang* cit., p. 45 ff.

the perimetrical walls with an opening, nor could they burden them too much
with a direct thrust from the roof. As a matter of fact, Iron-Age dwellings
of a more primitive type are also attested on the Palatine. One of the hut
floors in the Germalus area, which is, and *pour cause*, of considerably smaller
size than the one of Fig. 7 [30], shows no socket for a central prop: its walls
were supported by external adherent stakes, and also had to be buttressed
from the outside by slanting poles once they began to bulge under the weight
of the roof [31].

§ 46. Reverting now to our opening remarks on the value of linguistic
evidence for the history of archaeological data (§ 36), may we recall Evans'
position [32]: 'in spite of the curious correspondence, extending even to details,
of the Minoan hut-urns with the Italian group, it would appear safest to
regard them as of independent outgrowth from a parallel type of primitive
habitations'. Evans' was probably the most sensible course, or at least the
most cautious, half a century ago, when one had no alternative but to agree
with him that 'the geographical areas to which the two groups respectively
belong are themselves sufficiently remote, nor have any intermediate con-
nexions come to light'. Today, direct cultural connections between the Aegean
world and Italy are beyond doubt, so that the geographical distance stressed
by Evans is no obstacle any more. If there is a gap between the Cretan hut
urns and the Latial ones, this seems to lie in chronology. The fact that the
earliest Latial urns known thus far date back to the 10th cent. B.C. actually
proves the previous use of the buildings they represent. It must be borne
in mind that the hut urn is not a datum of material culture, but a religious
object linked with the cremation rite and a definite conception of death and
after-life. It tells us that that type of Latial hut is earlier than the earliest
hut urn ever to appear, but it does not enable us to gauge how much earlier.
On the other hand, the Cretan urns are of Late Minoan age. Again, the fact
that so far they are not attested in the Mycenaean period may be due to
religious causes and does not mean that the structure they represent did not
continue in the actual Mycenaean hut. In other words, the urns do not say
how early was that type of hut in Latium, and how late in Greece [33]. One
could even suppose that, whatever developments might have occurred in the

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[30] The only measurable side in the plan is only 2.55 m. long (S.M. Puglisi, *Mon.
ant.*, XLI, 1951, col. 47), while in the hut with the central prop (Fig. 7) the major
axis is 4.90 m. and the minor 3.60 m. long (Puglisi, *ibid.*, col. 67).

[31] Puglisi, *ibid.*, col. 48-49.

[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

[33] Cf. H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang* cit., p. 50-51.

building techniques of the Mycenaean world, the secluded region of the Arcadians preserved archaic features [34].

The facts are that (1) the earliest Latial hut presents structural elements attested in the Late Minoan huts, and (2) the Latin names of such elements are Mycenaean.

Therefore, the Mycenaean character of the Latin names for the main structural elements of the hut offers conclusive evidence for direct cultural relations. Such names are the linguistic reflection of an Arcadian influence on the architecture of prehistoric Latium.

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[34] See § 13 note 113.

V

TEXTILES

§ 47. Tradition and linguistic evidence combine to assert the Arcadian origin of the national Roman dress, the *toga* — a mantle semicircular in shape, thus sharply distinct from the rectangular *himation* of the Greeks (called *pallium* in Latin).

After the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. the rounded mantle appears in Etruscan art and develops into a number of peculiarly Etruscan variants [1]. However, if it then became fashionable in common usage, the toga must have been worn earlier in Etruria as well as in Rome. Dionysius has it that a *toga picta*, i.e. an embroidered purple mantle about which he explicitly says that it was not rectangular but semicircular, was among the insignia of Etruscan sovereignty presented to Tarquinius Priscus (616-578 B.C.) [2]. Moreover, a pleated 'royal toga', i.e. a garment of that description, woven by Tarquinius' wife, was still kept in the shrine of Fortune in the 1st cent. B.C. [3],

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[1] L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore - London s.a. [1975], p. 48 ff.

[2] Dion. Hal. 3.61.1 περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν ποικίλον, οἷα Λυδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν ἐφόρουν οἱ βασιλεῖς, πλὴν οὐ τετράγωνόν γε τῷ σχήματι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡμικύκλιον. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀμφιεσμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τηβέννας καλοῦσιν 'an embroidered purple garment like the ones the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that it was not square in shape like those, but semicircular. This kind of dress is called *toga* by the Romans and *tebenna* by the Greeks'.

[3] Plin. *n.h.* 8.194 *lanam in colo et fuso Tanaquilis ... in templo Sanci durasse prodente se auctor est M. Varro, factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in aede Fortunae, qua Ser. Tullius fuerat usus* 'Marcus Varro [116-27 B.C.] attests on his own authority that in the temple of Sancus was still preserved the wool on the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil ... and in the shrine of Fortune a pleated royal toga made by her, which had been worn by Servius Tullius'.

and, unless both instances refer to the same garment, togas of Servius Tullius (578-534 B.C.) were preserved in Rome until 31 A.D. [4]

Among the Romans, the toga's decoration might have been of Etruscan import, as related by Pliny [5], but it is a fact that the garment was known to them long before the period of their Etruscan kings. In fact, when tradition describes the tyrant's attire that contributed to the eventual overthrow of Romulus (753-715 B.C.) and recalls that 'he dressed in a scarlet tunic and wore a purple-bordered toga' [6], it is clear that what vexed the Romans was not the toga, but its purple border after the fashion of the Etruscan rulers. Which implies that the toga was in common usage in the 8th century. This is confirmed by a detail concerning a most conservative environment, namely religion: the Salians, a priesthood of many peoples of Central Italy, established in Rome by the Sabine king Numa Pompilius around 705 B.C. [7], had togas striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, called *trabeae*. Again, the decoration on a toga is a mark of dignity worn on an everyday costume.

The proof that the toga was adopted not only in Rome but in many parts of Central Italy before the age of Romulus is offered by the *cinctus Gabinus*, the way of girding with a loose end of the toga which was characteristic of the city of Gabii (and remained customary in Roman religious festivals, § 62) because the *ueteres Latini* used to tuck up the toga in this way in combat before they adopted defensive arms in Romulus' time [8].

Therefore, various sources independently confirm that the toga was worn in Central Italy before the 8th century, when its use in the conservative environments of the priesthood and royalty points to an already time-honoured tradition by then, though no hint is given as to the date of its inception.

§ 48. For the Roman and Etruscan toga the Greeks had a specific and exclusive term: τήβεννος fem. (also τήβεννα fem.). 'I do not know from where they learned it', writes Dionysius, 'for it does not seem to me to be a Hellenic name' [9].

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[4] Plin. *n.h.* 8.197 *Serui Tulli praetextae quibus signum Fortunae ab eo dicatae coopertum erat durauere ad Seiani exitum* 'the purple-bordered togas of Servius Tullius with which the statue of Fortune dedicated by him was draped lasted till the death of Sejanus [31 A.D.]'.

[5] Plin. *n.h.* 8.195 *praetextae apud Etruscos originem inuenere* 'purple-bordered togas found their origin among the Etruscans'; cf. note 6.

[6] Plut. *Rom.* 26.2 ἀλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδύετο χιτῶνα, καὶ τήβεννον ἐφόρει περιπόρφυρον; see *Origini*, I, p. 82, and cf. note 5 above.

[7] *Aspetti*, p. 53.

[8] *Origini*, II, p. 68.

[9] Dion. Hal. 3.61.1 οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν μαθόντες· Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ οὐ φαίνεταί μοι τοὔνομα εἶναι.

However, as we shall see further on, we do have conclusive evidence for the existence in Greek of the word in a distant past as the name of a Greek garment of the exact shape of the toga. Moreover, the Roman dress was of Arcadian origin according to a tradition preserved by Artemidorus Daldianus (2nd cent. A.D.):

'The Roman dress, which is called τήβεννος after Temenos [10] the Arcadian, who first put on in this manner his own short mantle (χλαμύς) when he crossed the Ionian gulf and was received by the local inhabitants. And after him the people of that country dressed in the same way and called the garment τημένειος after the name of Temenos, its inventor; afterwards, in the process of time, the name became corrupt and the garment was called τήβεννος' [11].

The Suda lexicon (10th cent. A.D.) reports this passage verbatim except that (1) it gives the Arcadian's name as Tebennos, and (2) it merely says of him, referring to the Roman toga: 'who first put on this upper-garment of wool' (with χλανίς instead of Artemidorus' χλαμύς) [12].

The discrepancy on point (1) is irrelevant here: in either case, it is clear that ancient philologists could only contrive for τήβεννος the etymology they often resorted to in desperate cases, explaining the noun of the thing as the lexicalization of the proper name of its alleged inventor. As to point (2), it is evident that the Suda lexicon, in spite of its much later date, reproduces more faithfully a common source which in Artemidorus appears distorted by an interpretative elaboration.

In fact, taken literally, Artemidorus would refer not to the type of dress but only to the way of wearing it, that is not around the shoulders and fastened with a brooch like the Greek χλαμύς, but over the left shoulder and under the right arm like the Roman toga [13]. And this is clearly inconsistent with the rest of the passage, where the Arcadian is said to be the 'inventor' of that dress. It is the Suda text which makes faultless sense, and Artemidorus'

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[10] Name of the founder of the Argive dynasty, cf. Τημένιον a place in Argolis, and Τημενίδες πύλαι (porta Temenitis) at Tarentum in Calabria, on the Ionian sea.

[11] Artem. 2.3 ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐσθής, ἣν τήβεννον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, ὃς πρῶτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα τοῦτον περιεβάλετο τὸν τρόπον εἰσπλεύσας κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον καὶ ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ κατοικούντων. ἀφ' οὗ μαθόντες [καὶ] οἱ ἐγχώριοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνεσκευάζοντο τρόπον καὶ ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐσθῆτα τημένειον ἐπώνυμον Τημένου τοῦ εὑρόντος · ὕστερον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ παραφθαρέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος τήβεννος ἐκλήθη.

[12] Suda τήβεννος· Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐσθής, ἀπὸ Τηβέννου Ἀρκάδος, ὃς πρῶτος ταύτην τὴν χλανίδα περιεβάλετο· εἰσπλεύσας γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον καὶ ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ κατοικούντων. ἀφ' οὗ μαθόντες οἱ ἐγχώριοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνεσκευάζοντο τρόπον καὶ ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐσθῆτα τηβέννειον, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ εὑρόντος. ὕστερον δὲ παραφθαρὲν τὸ ὄνομα τήβεννος ἐκλήθη.

[13] See L. Bonfante, op. cit., p. 49.

slightly elaborated version must be owing to interpreters who held that the rounded mantle was positively not Greek.

§ 49. However, contrary to this assumption, in the 2nd cent. A.D. the grammarian Pollux relates: 'They say that the statues of Biton and Cleobis in Argos wear the garment called τήβεννος, and think that its name is τηβεννίς' [14].

Biton and Cleobis, the model sons of the priestess of Hera in Argos, were honoured in Delphi with two statues made in the 6th cent. B.C. by the Argive artist Polymedes, who represented them naked [15]. In their homeland, as Pollux attests, images had been erected of the two youngsters which, whether primitive *xoana* carved of wood or works of more recent and refined craftsmanship, were covered with a garment of archaic fashion, shaped like a Roman toga (τήβεννος) and called τηβεννίς.

This name, which the very wording of the Greek grammarian denounces as an archaic and almost forgotten term, is formed with the suffix -ίς -ίδος most frequent in the names of garments derived from words of the same category, e.g. *χλάνγα(> χλαῖνα) > χλανίς 6th-5th cent. B.C., στολή > στολίς 5th cent. B.C. Thus τηβενν-ίς postulates an antecedent τήβενν-ος or -α.

It is significant that the derivative τηβεννίς and the unique example of the Greek rounded mantle it refers to are attested in Argos, since that port was the Arcadians' gateway to the sea (§ 4).

This accords with the tradition about the importing of the toga from Arcadia into Italy across the Ionian gulf and other sources show that the diffusion of such a dress followed a route which was customary for the Arcadians during the time of their earliest wanderings. In fact, it is recorded that when a large number of them had to leave their country in search of other lands to live in, Oenotrus and one of his brothers, Peucetius, crossed the Ionian gulf with many Arcadians and other Greeks, and while the former sailed forth towards the Tyrrhenian sea, Peucetius 'landed his people above the Iapygian promontory [now Cape Santa Maria di Leuca], which was where they first cast anchor in Italy' [16]. The uninterrupted and conspicuous presence of Mycenaean pottery is evidence of close trade connections of Mycenaean

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[14] Poll. 7.61 τὴν δ' ὀνομαζομένην τήβεννον τὰς μὲν τῶν περὶ Βίτωνα καὶ Κλέοβιν εἰκόνας ἐν "Αργει φορεῖν φασί, τηβεννίδα δ' αὐτὴν καλεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν.

[15] The statues are mentioned by Solon ap. Hdt. 1.31.5, and published by T. Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV.1, Paris 1905, p. 5 ff. and pl. I-II; for the inscription with the signature Πο[λυ]μέδες ἐποίεε hαργεῖος 'made by the Argive Polymedes' see H. Pomtow, *Arch. Anz.* 1911, col. 46 ff.

[16] Dion. Hal. 1.11.3.

seafarers with that area, and even permanent settlements of the newcomers have been surmised, e.g. on the coast of Tarentum [17].

In this context, it is significant that τήβεννος (-α), of hitherto unknown origin, finds its explanation in Mycenaean.

§ 50. In Linear B a woollen fabric is recorded by means of the ideogram CLOTH surcharged with the syllable *TE*, and in one case that cloth is 'of royal type' (*wanaktera* nom. plur. nt. or -ai fem.): KN Lc 525 [18]

```
.a              wa-na-ka-te-ra   CLOTH³+TE   40    WOOL   100[+
.b   se-to-i-ja / tu-na-no   CLOTHˡ   3    WOOL [
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'At *Se-to-i-ja*: Forty edged cloths of royal type, 100 + measures of wool; three cloths of *tu-na-no* type, several hundred (?) measures of wool' [19].

At Knossos women weavers of CLOTH+*TE* are called *te-pe-ja*, an occupational name also used at Pylos and Thebes [20]. 'If *te-pe-ja* does mean "makers of CLOTH+*TE*", it is natural to suppose that the surcharge *TE* is an abbreviation of the noun from which *te-pe-ja* is derived; and this can hardly be anything other than *te-pa*' [21], which in fact occurs together with CLOTH+*TE* on a clay lump used as a seal at Knossos

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KN  Ws 8153      .α   CLOTH³+TE
                 .β   te-pa
                 .γ   vacant
```

and in Argolis at Mycenae on the tablet Oe 107: *te-pa-i*   WOOL 9.

Here *te-pa-i* dat. plur. indicates that the WOOL is used specifically 'for pieces of *te-pa*' just as in Oe 111 it is destined *pa-we-si* dat. plur. /pharwessi/ 'for pieces of φᾶρος'.

The *Lc*-tablets record the weight of wool in the cloths themselves. The usual ratios of cloth and wool (whose weight is expressed in units of about 3 kg.), i.e.

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pa-we-a ko-u-ra    3  :  WOOL   5 = c. 15 kg.
tu-na-no cloth     1  :  WOOL   3 = c.  9 kg.
CLOTH+TE           1  :  WOOL   7 = c. 21 kg.
```

show that these accounts do not deal with garments (dresses weighing 21 kg. each, or whichever the weight of cloth made by processing 21 kg. of wool, would be far too heavy). They deal with piece-goods, and it is tempting to infer that the different fabrics were woven in pieces of recognized length and varied in weight according to thickness etc.

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[17] See the Appendix II, p. 160-161.
[18] On the Knossos *Lc*-tablets see J.T. Killen, *Bull. Inst. Class. Studies*, 13, 1966, p. 105-109.
[19] Cf. *Documents*, p. 315, and *Documents²*, p. 486.
[20] KN Le 641 + fragms. lin. 4; PY Ad 921; TH Of 35.
[21] J.T. Killen, *art. cit.*, p. 109.

The fabric *te-pa* was known under this name throughout the Mycenaean world. It is attested on both sides of Arcadia, i.e. at Pylos and in Argolis, and at Argos, the seaport of Arcadia from where it was deemed the τήβεννος had spread to Italy, we have the only attestation of an archaic Greek mantle in the shape of a toga and called τηβεννίς.

It is then reasonable to assume that τήβενν-ος -α, the antecedent of Arg. τηβενν-ίς, is a derivative [22] of Myc. *te-pa* /tēba/, which was a heavy woollen fabric (as we have seen, its proportion of WOOL is much higher than for the other fabrics). And in fact, the tradition preserved by the Suda lexicon (§ 48) says that the Arcadian dress imported into Italy was a χλανίς, i.e. a garment of wool [23], and such was also the Roman toga, made of a thick white woollen fabric.

Though the import of the garment cannot be and probably is not linked with a specific Arcadian migration, the fact that in alphabetic Greek *tēba* is unknown and τήβενν-ος -α applies only to the Roman and Etruscan toga substantiates the tradition and indicates that the dress was brought to Italy in the Mycenaean age. The Mycenaean *tēba* and classical τήβεννος are two pieces of linguistic evidence that complement each other.

In this case we have a Mycenaean item which was called, at least in Rome, with an indigenous name: *toga* (from *tegō* 'cover'), properly a generic word for a covering [24]. Perhaps this may betray an indirect import via Southern Italy. In another instance, however, linguistic evidence is such as to warrant a direct contact between Mycenaeans and early Latins.

§ 51. The relation between Lat. *līnum* 'flax' and its adjective *linteus* is an obscure problem which finds its solution neither within Latin nor in

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[22] Its formation seems unique in alphabetic Greek, for τήβεννος is the only proparoxytone among words in -εννος; the other such words of more than two syllables are Aeolic forms accented on the last, and usually derive from *s*-stems (e.g. ἐρεβεννός Hom. Hes. 'dark' < ἐρεβεσ-νος from Ἔρεβος), though not without exceptions, like hom. κέλαδος 'loud noise' (*o*-stem) > κελαδ-εινός 'noisy' Aeol. -εννός, see P. Chantraine, *Formation* cit., p. 195 f. It is then doubtful whether τήβεννος belongs to such formations with the recessive accent typical of Aeolian (*Etym. M.* p. 548.11 Αἰολεῖς, βαρυν-τικοὶ ὄντες).

[23] The χλαῖνα was a thick woollen cloak (see e.g. *Od.* 4.50 χλαίνας οὔλας 'woollen *khlainai*' and note its attribute ἀνεμοσκεπής 'sheltering from the wind' *Il.* 16.224); its derivative χλανίς also designated a woollen garment, usually of finer quality or thinner description: Hermipp. 47.1 χλανίδες δ' οὖλαι 'woollen *khlanides*' and cf. Hesychius' glosses χλαῖνα· χλανίς, ἢ ἱμάτιον χειμερινόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ χλιαίνειν, ὅ ἐστι θερμαίνειν (*khlaina*: a *khlanis*, or a winter outer garment, so called from *khliainō*, that is to say 'to warm') and χλανίδες· λεπτὰ ἱμάτια (*khlanides*: fine outer garments).

[24] Non. p. 406.13 ff. *toga dicta est a tegendo ... dicitur et tectum* 'the toga is so called from *tego* (to cover) and also a roof is called *toga*' quoting for the latter acceptation Titinius, 2nd cent. B.C.

alphabetic Greek, but in Mycenaean, so that a direct borrowing must be inferred.

Lat. *līnum* has two adjectives:

(1) a normal derivative *līneus -a -um*, the first occurrence of which is the substantivized fem. *līnea* 'linen thread' ('fishing line', 'plumb line' of masons and carpenters, and generally 'line') in Plautus; no doubt a comparatively late creation on the pattern of adjectives in *-eo-* from names of materials (e.g. *lāna* 'wool' > *lāneus* 'woollen') and probably after a Greek model: λίνε(ι)ος adj., and in fact *līnea* corresponds exactly to λινέη, a linen string used as a tape-measure in building;

(2) an abnormal derivative *linteus -a -um* < *līnteos* (with shortening of *ī* brought about by the subsequent group *nt*) [25], first attested in the substantivized form *linteum* nt. 'linen cloth' of Plautus, who also uses its diminutive *linteolum* as well as *linteo* 'linen-weaver'.

The abnormality of *linteus* can be gauged by the present state of the etymology as summarized by Ernout-Meillet, p. 361 (my additions and comments thereon in square brackets):

'Obscure formation: derived from *lintom*? [of which there is no trace], or with the suffix *-teo-* designating material? Cf. *rōbusteus* ["of oak-wood"] in Vitruvius [which is a derivative in *-eo-* from *rōbustus* "of oak-wood", not directly from *rōbus* "oak" with a suffix *-teo-*, which does not exist]. Or *linteus* is due to *sparteus* ["of broom" < *spartum* "broom"], *dūrāteus* [correct *dūrateus* "wooden", a unique learned Graecism in Lucretius' *dūrateus equus*, said of the Trojan horse after Hom. δουράτεος ἵππος [26] and thus more than a century later than *linteus* in Plautus], analyzed as *spar-teus*, *dūrā-teus* [though *-teo-* does not exist]? Or of Etruscan origin, like *balteus* [on which see § 32 f.]? Cf. the *librī lintei* ["linen books"]' [27].

The adjective *linteus* is then a *forma difficilior* unexplainable in Latin, and as such may be suspected to be the most ancient one.

§ 52. There is an undeniable parallelism between the two series

Lat.	*līnum*	*līneus*	*linteus*
Gr.	λίνον [28]	λίνεος	λῖτ- [29]

the last form meaning 'linen cloth' (= Lat. *linteum*) used in the *Iliad* to

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[25] See M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, p. 106-107.

[26] Lucr. 1.476 f.; *Od.* 8.492 f. and 512.

[27] The Etruscan ritual written on linen rolls, then used as bandages to wrap the mummy of Zagreb, proves only that linen cloth was used as writing material in Etruria as among the Romans, the Samnites, etc. (see *Origini*, II, p. 141 f. note 96).

[28] Forms with *ī* occur in passages either corrupt or late, see *Prestiti*, p. 54 note 43

[29] In λιτί dat. sing. and λῖτα acc. sing. or plur.; a nom. sing. λίς perhaps in *SGD*, 5702.20 (346/5 B.C.).

cover Zeus' chariot, Patroclus' corpse, then his ash urn [30]. Their relation, however, is unclear.

On the one hand, the Greek word for 'flax' has ῐ (λῐνον), and with it accord O. Slav. (*lĭnŭ) and Baltic (Lith. linaĩ plur.); on the other hand, the Latin word has ī (līnum), and with it accord Celtic (O. Ir. lín), Albanian (li-ri lį-ni), Germanic (Goth. lein etc.) which are thus deemed to be loanwords from Latin.

Etymologists avoid explaining the different quantity of i in the Greek and the Latin forms by regarding them as two offshoots from the Mediterranean substratum, which is an unknown element that does not clarify the problem of the divergent quantities either.

As a matter of fact, we have here two great European areas, one covered by Greek and other forms with -ῐ- (whether borrowed from Greek or going back to the same antecedent), and the other with -ī- covered by Latin and borrowings from it. The Linear-B tablets show that Lat. līnum is a loanword from Mycenaean, where the problem of the vowel length finds its solution.

§ 53. In fact, the Mycenaean name for flax is *ri-no* /linon/ λῐνον but the correspondent adjective does not derive from the same stem, i.e. is not, as in alphabetic Greek, λῐνεος or λῐνειος but λῑτ-, as shown by the expression *ri-ta pa-we-a* λῑτα φάρϝεα 'linen cloths' at Knossos [31]. And it is clear why λῐνειος could designate a cloth in alphabetic Greek but not in Mycenaean.

Among the Linear-B names of occupational groups, women who spin are called *a-ra-ka-te-ja* /ālakateiai/ (ἠλαχάτη 'distaff'), women weavers are called *i-te-ja* /histeiai/ (ἱστός 'loom'), etc., and the women who process flax are called *ri-ne-ja* /lineiai/ — all professional terms formed on the pattern of *i-je-re-u* ἱερεύς 'priest' ~ fem. *i-je-re-ja* ἱέρεια 'priestess'. This name *lineia*, however, could not co-exist in the same environment, i.e. in the very same semantic field, with often identical forms [32] of an adjective of material in -e-ja fem. (viz. /lineiā/ 'made of flax') without giving rise time and again to what Gilliéron would have called 'intolerable homonymies'.

The adjectival use of λῑτ- in the Knossian expression *ri-ta pa-we-a* λῑτα φάρϝεα 'linen cloths', which in later Greek would be λῐνεα φάρη, enables us to guess the change which occurred in this semantic field from Mycenaean to alphabetic Greek.

Once λῐνεια, for reasons unknown to us, disappeared as the professional name of the woman who worked in the linen industry (and, in fact, there

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[30] Il. 8.441, 18.352, 23.254.

[31] KN L 594, cf. 567, 648, 5927, 8159, and see *Documents*, p. 319.

[32] On Myc. -e-ja covering the endings /-eiă/ and /-eiā/ see Th. G. Spyropoulos · J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets II*, Salamanca 1975, p. 90.

is no trace of it in alphabetic Greek), a regularly-formed adjective λίνε(ι)ος could develop; or conversely, the adjective λίνε(ι)ος caused the professional name to fade out, and in either case the most ancient adjective with the stem λῖτ- survived, crystallized in the elliptic noun λῖτ- 'linen cloth' (implying φάρϝος, by an obvious process of substantivization identical to Lat. *linteus* [nt. *-um*] adj. 'of flax, linen' > subst. *linteum* nt. 'linen cloth'). The respective position of the two semantic fields is as follows:

	'flax'	'linen worker'	'linen'	'linen cloth'
Myc.	λῖνον	λίνε(ι)α	λῖτ-	λῖτ- φάρϝος
	↓			
alph. Gr.	λῖνον	λινουργός	λίνε(ι)ος	λῖτ-
			-α -ον	
		λινόϋφος etc.		
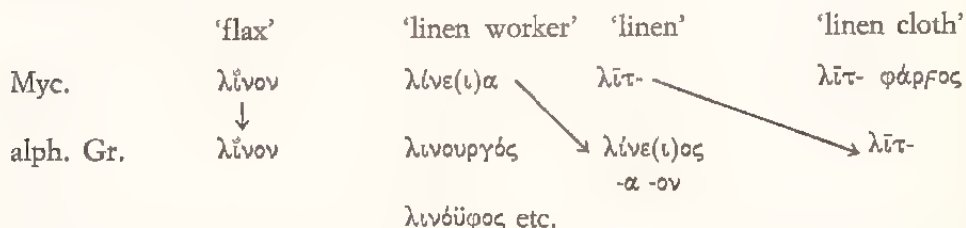
§ 54. The corresponding Latin forms, where *ī* of *līnum* and *t* of *linteus* prove so puzzling, are easily explained in the light of this semantic structure — but at the Mycenaean stage, not at that of alphabetic Greek.

In Latin, the adaptation of Myc. /līnon/ should have been *līnom*, but this name of a valuable fibre used to weave white cloth must have sounded intolerably similar to *linō* 'daub, besmear' (Ov. *fast.* 3.760 *linit ora luto* 'smudges his face with mire'): the etymological instinct of the Latins no doubt established a proportion like **līnum : linō = lutum* 'mud' : *lutō* 'bedaub with mud' etc.

In the same way, the adjective λῖτ- should have been in Latin *līt-*, which not only was an anomalous form as against adjectives of materials derived with the suffix *-eo-* from o-stems (*lāna* 'wool' > *lāneus* 'woollen', *lutum* 'mud' > *luteus* 'of mud, muddy', etc.), but in a good many utterances would have caused unpleasant associations if not serious misunderstandings because of its sound proximity to *lĭt-us -a -um* participle of *linō* 'daub, besmear': in contexts otherwise identical, vowel quantity would not be enough to distinguish a refined snow-white linen garb (*uestis līta*) from a dirty one (*lĭta*).

One thus understands not only the adaptation of **līt-os* to the derivatives in *-eo-* (the same as the ancient adjective of material *aēnus* 'of bronze' [< *aes* 'bronze'] which has become *aēneus*) and the appearance of a spurious *n* according to *linum* [33], but also the lengthening of *ĭ* in *līnom* according to **līnt-* < **līt-* = λῖτ-, which avoided the intolerable association of *līnum* with *linō* (in point of chronology, then, *līnum* is earlier than the shortening *lĭnt-* < **līnt-*).

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[33] Cf. the said derivation, abnormal for the Latins, *aes aeris > aēnus*, thereafter *aēneus*, and thence the formation of *aereus* with *r* of the gen. *aeris* (Ernout-Meillet, p. 12).

We have said that as an adjective of λίνον the form λῑτ- was quite
abnormal in Greek, just as *linteus* is as against *linum* in Latin, and this
striking formal parallelism proves a relationship between the two pairs. What
is anomalous in one language can be perfectly normal in another, and their
irregularity may depend on the possible borrowing of both the name of flax
and its adjective from a pre-existent language. However, unless one still holds
the unrealistic conception of a uniform Mediterranean substratum, these
parallel formations of Latin and Greek can only be explained with a borrowing
by one tongue from the other, i.e. with a direct contact between Mycenaeans
and early Latins. The paramount importance of the linen industry among the
Mycenaeans leaves no doubt that it was they who introduced flax or at least
its processing into Latium.

§ 55. The foreign provenance of linen cloth explains a taboo of Ro-
man religion.

It is a commonplace remark that linen fabrics were prescribed in many
religious and funerary observances, as a purer material than wool, but the
sources referred to offer no evidence to this effect. On the contrary, as a
matter of fact linen cloth was forbidden to at least some of the most ancient
Roman priesthoods, the Fetials and the Flamens: 'the Fetials and the *pater
patratus* [appointed to pronounce the oath and solemnize a treaty with a
foreign state] ... never wore linen garments. And this use was so contrary
to Roman religious customs that once the Flamen's wife was found to have
sewn a woollen tunic with linen thread it was deemed that a sin had been
committed because of that'[34].

'Given the great stability which is inherent in all religious customs and
precepts at Rome even more than elsewhere, the rituals of later ages reveal
many a crystallized relic of a far distant stage in their development: the victim
which must be smitten with a flint stone by the Fetials to solemnize a treaty,
the prohibition of iron for the benefit of bronze in the more ancient cult acts,
the queer use of unleavened flour and clay vessels made for ritual purposes
without using the lathe, ordinances like that which allows the Flamen Dia-
lis to ride in a chariot but not to go on horseback, or prescribes that the
Vestals relight the extinguished holy fire in the old way by rubbing together
two pieces of wood, or that the spelt grains for the *mola salsa* shall be pounded
but not ground, give us an insight into the times of a still very primitive

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[34] Serv. *in Aen.* 12.120 *atqui fetiales et pater patratus ... numquam utebantur uesti-
bus lineis. adeo autem a Romano ritu alienum est, ut, cum flaminica esset inuenta tuni-
cam laneam lino habuisse consutam, constitisset ob eam causam piaculum esse commis-
sum.* According to Pliny, *n.h.* 19.8, Varro recorded that it was a clan custom in the
family of the Serrani for the women not to wear linen garments.

culture with its correspondingly modest ceremonies and thus show us how early the rituals have become firmly established' [35].

In this respect, the Flamens were conspicuous for their rigid conservatism, which resulted in a maze of taboos, some of which clearly date back to before the Iron Age. For instance, as Lydus recalls, 'under Numa and before him the priests of old cut off their hair with bronze scissors, not with iron ones' [36], and Servius specifies that 'bronze is a material suited to religion, and in fact the Flamen Dialis cut his hair with bronze razors' [37] (a usage shared by Sabine priests [38]).

The prohibition of linen in their garments hints at a foreign novelty that was alien to an established use of fabrics in the religion of early Latium.

§ 56. This taboo so strictly observed by Fetials and Flamens, however, was not observed, at least from a certain epoch onwards, among the Vestals.

Tradition has it that once the holy fire had been extinguished through the negligence of Aemilia, the guilty Vestal prayed the goddess to manifest herself in defence of her priestess: 'having said this', relates the tradition recorded by Dionysius, 'she tore off the band from the linen dress she was wearing and threw it upon the altar' [39].

The Greek historian calls that dress καρπασίνη ἐσθής, and, referring to the same event, Propertius says *carbasus alba* and Valerius Maximus *carbasum* [40].

The Mycenaean origin of *linum* and *linteus* makes one suspect a loanword of the same layer in the other name of flax: *carbăsus -ī* fem., for it shows *b* in lieu of Gr. π of κάρπᾶσος fem., as in Latin borrowings from Mycenaean.

The assumption is culturally unexceptionable even if Myc. *ka-pa-so* is disregarded (as its reading is not quite certain and its meaning unclear) [41]. Nor are there formal objections:

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[35] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], München 1912, p. 34 f.

[36] Lyd. *mens.* 1.35 ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νουμᾶ καὶ πρὸ τούτου οἱ πάλαι ἱερεῖς χαλκαῖς ψαλίσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀπεχείροντο.

[37] Serv. *in Aen.* 1.448 *religioni apta est haec materies, denique flamen Dialis aereis cultris tondebatur.*

[38] Macr. *sat.* 5.19.13 *Granii ... uerba ponam ... : prius itaque et Tuscos aeneo uomere uti cum conderentur urbes solitos, in Tageticis eorum sacris inuenio et in Sabinis ex aere cultros quibus sacerdotes tonderentur* 'I shall quote Granius Flaccus [1st cent. B.C.] verbatim: and thus previously it was customary also for the Etruscans to use a bronze ploughshare when cities were founded, as I find in their sacred Tagetic books, and in the Sabine rituals [I find] bronze razors for the priests to cut their hair'.

[39] Dion. Hal. 2.68.5 ταῦτ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ περιρρήξασαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρπασίνης ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἔτυχεν ἐνδεδυκυῖα, βαλεῖν τὸν τελαμῶνα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσι.

[40] Prop. 4.11.54, V. Max. 1.1.7.

[41] KN Ai 966+7855+7856b; J. Chadwick - J.T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, *The Knossos*

(1) the fact that *carbăsus* maintains *ă* in an inner syllable would not imply that the loan is later than the period of the initial stress, since *ă*, instead of becoming *ĭ* or *ĕ*, is often preserved when there is *a* in the first syllable too: e.g. *alacer* 'lively' (also **alicer* attested by Romance continuators), *anas* gen. *anatis* 'duck' (also *anit-*), *farfarum* 'coltsfoot' (also *farferum*); and so also in loanwords: *calamus* 'reed' < κάλαμος, etc. [42]

(2) intervocalic *s* does not become *r* after a short vowel in some words borrowed or rustic, like *asinus* 'ass' and *casa* 'hut', and in all those of Greek origin, e.g. *petăsus* 'a broad-brimmed hat' < πέτᾰσος.

However, *carbasus* (which never has a variant with *ĭ* or *ĕ*) is not a rustic or popular word, and in fact no trace of it survives in the Romance languages. At least at a comparatively late age (it first appears in Ennius, d. 169 B.C.), it occurs mostly as a literary term with the sense of 'sail' in authors reminiscent of Greek models, thus often in the form *carbasa* plur. nt. after the heteroclite Gr. κάρπασα plur. nt. (whence the unique *carbasum* sing. nt. in Valerius Maximus). Even if it were a current urban term ultimately dating back to the Mycenaean period, one would expect it to have already become thoroughly assimilated before the stage of the initial stress, and thus treated as a purely Latin word. We may then suppose that its form survived as a technical term in the conservative language of religion, crystallized in the sacred books, both in the regulations for priestly attire and as an object to be prohibited [43].

In such terms, a Mycenaean origin for *carbasus* is no doubt a possibility worth keeping in mind, though further elements are needed to substantiate or disprove it.

§ 57. In connection with textiles (although, in the particular Pylian text we shall refer to, the cordage perhaps was not made of twisted textile fibres but of hide strips), it is worth mentioning another Latin word for which, unlike *carbasus*, a Mycenaean antecedent can definitely be indicated: *rūdēns -entis* fem. 'rope' (in the rigging of ships).

It occurs for the first time in Plautus [44]. Later texts, when quantity and gender are distinguishable, have a form *rŭdēns*, masc. and with *ŭ*.

The word is quite isolated. Its apparent stem or radical *rūd-* shows no semantic connection with the other two Latin words beginning with *rūd-* (in the present context their derivatives are irrelevant, of course): *rūdus*

Tablets[4], Cambridge 1971, p. 3: '*ka-ẹ-so* is not impossible'; J. Chadwick, *Documents*[2], p. 550: *ka pa-so* 'obscure'.

[42] See F.O. Weise, *Die griech. Wörter im Lat.*, Leipzig 1882, p. 61

[43] See e.g. *Origini*, II, p. 167 n. 38.

[44] *Rud.* 1015 (which warrants *ū*), 938 (which warrants the feminine gender), 1031.

-eris < *roudus* nt. 'a rude mass' and *rūdus -eris* nt. 'stones broken small and mingled with lime' (also *rŭd-* of the later *rŭdēns* cannot be connected semantically with *rudis* adj. 'unformed, rough' and *rudis* fem. 'a slender stick', the only other words beginning with *rŭd-* in Latin). Therefore, since the many forms in *-ēns -ēntis* are almost all present participles, the Romans traced *rūdēns* back to the verb *rŭdō* 'bray, roar, bellow', and referred it to the sound of the ropes used to support the masts and set the sails, when the wind caused them to rattle. This accounts both for the change of quantity undergone by *ŭ* (i.e. *rūdēns > rŭdēns*) and — the two facts are interdependent — for the ancient (and modern) interpretation of *rudēns* as 'the rattler', 'roarer' [45], which is sheer folk etymology, of course. Such a meaning is unlikely *a priori* because in the Indo-European languages no name for 'rope', 'cord', etc. seems to refer to a sound [46], and in Latin 'one has no other example of an object that got its name from a present participle' [47]. In any event, the connection with *rŭdō* is phonetically untenable because the most ancient form has *ū* (*rūdēns*), and besides even the Romans found it far-fetched from the semantic viewpoint since *rŭdō* properly applies to the braying of asses [48].

The complete isolation of *rūdēns* in Latin justifies the conclusion of Ernout-Meillet, p. 579: 'no doubt a loanword, like most nautical terms'. And now, turning our attention to Mycenaean, we can dispose of the objection expressed by Walde-Hofmann, II, p. 446, that a foreign origin cannot be substantiated.

§ 58. The tablet PY Ub 1318, listing mainly hides (*diphtherai*) of various animals, and articles made of leather, reads in line 3 *me-ti-ja-no to-pa ru-de-a₂ di-pte-ra 1* which Chadwick interprets 'Mestianor: one skin (as) fastenings of a hamper' with the following remarks:

> *to-pa ru-de-a₂*: it has generally been assumed that one of these is a substantive, the other an adjective in agreement; but parallel phrases ... suggest that they might both be substantives. *Ru-de-a₂ = ...eha* has the appearance of the plural of a neuter in *-os* (cf. *pa-we-a₂ = pharweha*). But there is no suitable identification known in later Greek. For *to-pa* ... it is not impossible that *o* here represents *y* and we could interpret the spelling as *torpā — τάρπη* 'large basket', 'hamper'. Since one hide could not make a hamper, it must be the other noun which describes the leather articles, and *to-pa*

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[45] Evident in Pacuvius, *trag.* 336 R³, *strepitus, fremitus, clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus* 'a rattling, a rushing, a roaring of thunders, and a hissing of stays', a much quoted passage imitated by Vergil and Ovid.

[46] See C.D. Buck, *Dict. Syn.* cit., p. 548 ff.

[47] A. Ernout, *Philologica* [I] cit., p. 40.

[48] Nonius, p. 51.13 ff., relates that some scholars had to support this connection by affirming, contrary to usage, that *rŭdō* properly meant the rattling of the ropes, not the braying of asses.

will be genitive *torpās*. Perhaps therefore *ru-de-a₂* are straps, hinges or fastenings, such as are often made of leather to attach lids to hampers, or for strengthening[49].

Chadwick's interpretation becomes convincing once the verb derived from *rudos* is detected in Hesychius' gloss ῥυδεῖ · περιπλέχεται.

This gloss attests a verb ῥυδῶ < *ῥυδέω, and -έω/-είω already in Homer provides the pattern for deriving the corresponding verbs from s-stems, e.g. τελῶ < Hom. τελέω ~ τελείω < *τελεσ-γω 'perform, fulfil' from τέλος τελεσ- 'performance, fulfilment'.

The verb περιπλέκω means 'twine around', then 'embrace', and in Homer occurs only in the passive (with dat.) in the sense 'fold oneself around', 'embrace', e.g. *Od.* 23.33 γρηῒ περιπλέχθη 'she embraced the old woman'. Since ῥυδεῖ is active, in the gloss under scrutiny its equivalent περιπλέχεται is not to be taken in a passive but medial sense, and no doubt properly means, as in Homer, 'folds itself around'.

It is a fact that both ῥυδῶ and Myc. *rudos* share an absolute isolation in Greek[50], and therefore with greater confidence we may establish the proportion τέλος : τελῶ = *rudos* : ῥυδῶ, and infer that in the Pylos tablet *rudos* is the name of something that folds itself around, twines, etc., for strengthening or fastening, just as Chadwick supposed.

Thus, as the verb ῥυδῶ derives from the noun, and not vice versa, its proper meaning must have been 'to bind or fasten with a *rudos*' as in English *rope* subst. > *rope* verb 'to bind or fasten with a rope'.

Certain neuter nouns of technical description in -ος/-εσ- (some already attested in the extant Mycenaean tablets) are quite isolated in the Greek vocabulary[51] and are reasonably assumed to be loanwords, e.g. ἄγγος 'container' (Myc. *a-ke-a₂* /angeha/ plur.), φᾶρος 'piece of cloth, cloak' (Myc. *pa-we-a* ~ *a₂* /pharwe(h)a/ plur.), ξίφος 'sword' (Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* /kʷsiphehe/ dual, whence *kʷsiphis* > Lat. *cuspis* 'point of spear or arrow'), and, with -*u*- like Myc. *rudos*, φῦκος 'seaweed' used as a rouge, ostensibly from Semitic. Therefore, considering its isolation in Greek and the lack of plausible formal correspondences with semantically kindred words in other Indo-European languages, one may regard Myc. *rudos* as a technical term of unknown origin (and possibly a loan). The same can be said of *rūdēns* in Latin.

There is, however, not only an undeniable formal similarity between *rūdēns* and *rudos*, indeed an identity in what appears to be their stem or

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[49] *Documents*², p. 490 f.

[50] Semantically unrelated the doubtful ῥυδία 'pomegranate' and ῥυδωμένην 'gulped down' recorded by Hesychius; the only two forms surely beginning with ῥυδ-, namely ῥύδην and ῥυδόν 'flowingly, abundantly', are adverbs in -δην -δόν from ῥυ- : ῥέϝω, Attic ῥέω, 'flow'.

[51] P. Chantraine, *Formation* cit., p. 417 ff.

radical (*rud-*), but also a striking closeness in meaning: the former indicates a rope (in the rigging of a ship), the latter something for fastening.

Perhaps it is not by chance that at Pylos *rudos* is the name of a fastening seemingly made of leather. When ropes of particular strength were required, they often consisted of twisted strips of hide (cf. e.g. the *funes lorei* 'leather ropes' for the mills and the cart in Latium), and this was exactly the case in the rigging of Homeric ships: e.g. *Od.* 2.424-426 'the mast of fir they raised and set in the hollow socket, and bound it fast with fore-stays, and hauled up the white sails with well-twisted ox-hide ropes'[52].

In comparison with Myc. *rudos*, the Latin word is clearly assimilated to the form of the participles in *-ēns -entis*, and this adaptation has a parallel in a technical term of cattle-breeding: *inciēns* 'pregnant' (of animals) < ἔγκυος -ον 'pregnant'[53].

Loanwords of this kind have complicated histories which it is not always possible to reconstruct, and we do not know the prehistory of Lat. *rūdēns*, and thus the reason for its feminine gender is obscure (analogy with *restis* fem. 'rope' would be but a hypothesis ad hoc)[54].

However, whether *rūdēns* goes back directly or indirectly to Myc. *rudos* (nt. nom. or acc., thus with *ū*?), or both stem independently from a common source, it seems reasonable to consider Myc. *rudos* as an antecedent of Lat. *rūdēns* in the sense that the Pylian form, which chronologically precedes the Latin one, has somehow an undeniable connection with *rūdēns*.

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[52] ἱστὸν δ' εἰλάτινον κοίλης ἔντοσθε μεσόδμης   στῆσαν ἀείραντες, κατὰ δὲ προτό-νοισιν ἔδησαν, | ἕλκον δ' ἱστία λευκὰ ἐυστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν.

[53] O. Keller, *Lat. Volksetymologie*, Leipzig 1891, p. 74 f., and see Ernout-Meillet, p. 314.

[54] The masculine of the later *rūdēns* may be due to its interpretation (according to *rūdō*) as one of those elliptical substantives which are actually present participles implying a noun (e.g. *oriēns* and *occidēns* masc. referring to *sol* masc.) and thus to a connection with *funis* masc. 'rope' (thicker than *restis*).

VI

AGRICULTURE

§ 59. The etymology of *capula* (§ 19 ff.) proves that a vessel called by a name of Mycenaean origin was used in the process of making oil by the Latins of the historic age, but does not imply *ipso facto* a Mycenaean influence on their prehistoric husbandry. However, the Latin vocabulary reveals conclusive evidence of Mycenaean agriculture in early Latium.

The language of Rome has only three words beginning with /werw-/, which is thus to be regarded as quite a peculiar initial element:

1. *ueruex* (*uerbex*, *berbex*) 'wether', whose possible connection with Mycenaean has already been hinted at [1];

2. *ueruō* 'surround', of unknown origin; and

3. the name for a stretch of land of a special type from an agricultural viewpoint, *ueruactum*, also of hitherto unknown origin, with its derived verb *ueruagō* [2].

Lat. *ueruactum* means 'fallow land'. Varro says: 'it also makes a great difference whether you sow on virgin soil or on that sown every year, which

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[1] Already in *Documents*, p. 412 s.v. *we-we-e-a* (description of textiles, 'woollen', cf. Chantraine, p. 324-325, s.v. εἶρος [< *Ϝέρϝος] 'wool'); it is worth noticing that *ueruex -ēcis* masc. and (*h*)*al*(*l*)*ec* nt. (or *-ex* fem.) *-ēcis*, a fish-sauce, are the only Latin stems ending in *-ēc-*, which favours the suspicion of a loanword, but a borrowing of *ueruex* from Mycenaean is at present a mere hypothesis for lack of a formal correspondence in Linear-B texts. Nor can one say if *grex* 'herd' plur. *greges*, whose current etymology assumes 'a popular form with some kind of "broken" doubling *gre-g-' (Ernout-Meillet, p. 283), could be connected with Myc. *we-re-ke* /*wreges/ plur. if it means 'herds' as surmised by Palmer (*Interpretation* cit., p. 168).

[2] Ernout-Meillet, p. 727: '*ueruāctum* is earlier than *ueruagō*, which is not found before Columella and Pliny, and is doubtlessly derived from the noun according to the pattern *agō/āctum*. Unknown etymology: the connection with *uēr uēris* ['spring'] suggested by the ancients is but a folk etymology'. On *ueruagō* see *Furrow* (quoted p. xv).

is called *restibilis*, or on *ueruactum*, a soil which lay fallow for some time'[3].

The ancient etymology of *ueruactum* from *uēr* 'spring' is explained by Pliny thus: 'land ploughed once in spring is called *ueruactum* [i.e. spring-worked land] from the fact of the time; this working is equally needed in the *nouale*: the *nouale* is land which is sown every other year'[4]. From this distinction, combined with Varro's statement just mentioned, it appears that *ueruactum* is ground kept fallow for less than a whole year.

Formally, Lat. *ueruactum* may represent an earlier **uoruactom* nt. with the common development *ue-* < *uo-* (before *r s t*) that became accepted in educated usage by the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. (*uertō* < *uortō*, etc.). And so arises one of those rare etymologies which Meillet used to label as 'immediately evident':

*uoruactom clearly continues Gr. ϝόρϝος ἄχτιτος, or more precisely the acc. ϝόρϝον ἄχτιτον, with ἄχτῐτος 'untilled' which is a specific qualification for the soil: Hom. *h. Ven.* 122-124 πολλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταϑνητῶν ἀνϑρώπων, | πολλὴν δ' ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄχτιτον, ἥν διὰ ϑῆρες | ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι 'he carried me over many tilled fields of mortal men and over much land unallotted and untilled, through which roam carnivorous beasts of prey'.

From the phonetic viewpoint, this etymology of *ueruactum* is unimpeachable, for it implies

(1) *-aktĭtom* > *-aktom*, i.e. the suppression of an unstressed open syllable followed by another formed with the same consonant — a haplology as common in Latin as it is natural in any language as a result of rapid speech (e.g. **sēmĭ-mŏdius* > *sēmŏdius* 'half-modius measure');

(2) the contraction into one word of a common syntagma, i.e. **uoru(om) aktom* > **uoruactom*, which would be just one of those instances of 'loss of final syllable with *-m* in the case of words closely joined in ordinary talk with a following word'[5], like e.g. *cauum aedium* > *cauaedium* 'inner court' in the architectural nomenclature (and the fact that **uoruactom* continues a Greek expression in the form of the accusative shows that the syntagma was borrowed by word of mouth, i.e. 'in ordinary talk')[6].

But this etymology is equally unimpeachable from the semantic view-

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[3] Varr. *agr.* 1.44.2 *illut quoque multum interest, in rudı terra, an in ea seras, quae quotannis obsita sit, quae uocatur restibilis, an in ueruacto quae interdum requierıt.*

[4] Plin. *n.h.* 18.176 *quod uere semel aratum est a temporis argumento ueruactum uocatur; hoc in nouali aeque necessarium est: nouale est quod alternis annis seritur.* Pliny's explanation is sheer folk etymology (revived with scholarly build-up by modern philologists, see e.g. Walde-Hofmann, II, p. 767), but has some justification in the fact that land kept idle to prepare it for cultivation is usually (not always) worked in May (whence e.g. the Italian term *maggese* or *maggiatico* 'fallow' from *maggio* 'May').

[5] W.M. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* cit., p 216 f. and cf. p. 362.

[6] Cf. § 17, § 19 note 27, § 41.

point, and it is the meaning itself which shows that *ueruactum* satisfies the prerequisite for recognizing in a Latin word a borrowing from Mycenaean, viz. that, given the cultural conditions, the Latin word finds its explanation in Mycenaean Greek and cannot be explained by means of alphabetic Greek.

§ 60. In fact, alph. Gr. *ϝόρϝος > ὅρος, Ion. οὖρος (Corcyr. ὅρϝος, Cret. and Arg. ὦρος, etc.) means only (a) 'boundary (of a field)', whence (b) 'land-mark':

(a) *Il.* 12.421-422 ἀλλ' ὥς τ' ἀμφ' οὔροισι δύ' ἀνέρε δηριάασθον, | μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες 'but as two men wrangle about boundaries holding measuring rods in hand';

(b) *Il.* 21.403-405 ἡ δ' ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἵλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ, | κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα, τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε, | τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης 'but drawing back she seized with her stout hand a stone that lay upon the plain, black and jagged and large, that men of former days had set to be the landmark of a field'.

Myc. *worwos* must have had this sense 'boundary' (implied by its derivative *wo-wi-ja* /worwia/ plur. ὅρια 'boundaries, borders, frontier')[7], but is also known as a designation of land (thus properly 'land enclosed within boundaries'), for combined with a personal name in the genitive it forms a toponym: see e.g. PY An 424

.1 *p̣ị̣[*   ] *ra-pte-re* MAN *12 pu-ka-wo*   MAN 6 *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*[MAN
.2 *ka-ra-do-ṛọ*   *ra-pte-re*   MAN[ ]1 *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*   *ra-pte-re*   MAN *10*[
.3 *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo*   *wo-wo*   *me-ri-du-ma-te*   MAN 2   *da-ko-ro*   MAN 2 [

where *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo* 'K.'s *worwos*' belongs to the same category of a one-word name as *ka-ra-do-ro* /kharadros/ lit. 'ravine', one of the Nine Towns of the Hither Province of Pylos. And since in places designated by *wo-wo*, preceded by a man's name in the genitive, cattle are stationed, the *worwos* must be an area of land (Palmer is right in saying that 'context suggests some such meaning as "steading"'[8], but this does not rule out that literally the word has a generic sense like 'land, field', cf. e.g. ἀγρός 'field' in the acceptation 'farm' *Od.* 24.205 ff.).

§ 61. It has been held that the unsatisfactory aspect of the interpretation of Myc. *wo-wo* as the antecedent of alph. Gr. ὅρος consists in the fact

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[7] This Pylian derivative, like *wo-wo*, preceded by a personal name in the genitive forms a toponymical expression: Mn 456 *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* and Na 1053 *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*, where the lack of word-divider 'clearly shows that such expressions were in the process of coalescing, as it frequently happens with toponyms' (L. Deroy - M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Le cadastre myc. de Pylos*, Roma 1965, p. 148).

[8] *Interpretation* cit., p. 464 s.v.

that one should surmise, 'without the support of other Greek texts'[9], that *ϝόρϝος would have acquired in the Mycenaean age the sense of 'land within set limits', with a semantic development akin to that of Lat. *fīnēs* 'boundaries' > 'land lying within boundaries'.

In Lat. *ueruactum* < **uoru(om) ak(ti)tom* 'fallow land', whose Greek origin is self-evident, /worwos/ has exactly the acceptation 'land, field' attested by the Mycenaean tablets and is accompanied by an adjective which occurs at Pylos to qualify a piece of ground: *a-ki-ti-to* /aktitos/.

Here, once again, Mycenaean clarifies a problem of prehistoric Latin — and Latin, in turn, throws light on Mycenaean, as in the case of the specific interpretation of the Pylian bronzesmith *prakteeus* as a metal-beater (§ 34). In fact, in the Pylos tablets, the *worwos* land is also connected with the reckoning of a commodity indicated by the sign *SA* (an ideogram which in the Pylos tablets refers to 'flax', 'linen'), e.g. Na 105 *u-po-di-jo-no wo-wo SA 10*. Now, PY Na 926 reads

e-ke-de-mi   *a₂-ku-mi-jo*   *SA 6*
pa-ka-a-ka-ri   *a-ki-ti-to*

meaning 'Pa-ka-a-ka-ri (place name): (? the land is) uncultivated, and A₂-ku-mi-jo holds it: six of linen'[10], for which Chadwick remarks: 'the territory is described as *a-ki-ti-to = aktitos*, which can hardly be uncultivated, if at least six units of flax are expected from it'[11]. No doubt we cannot define this land of A₂-ku-mi-jo as ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιτον 'unallotted and untilled' as in Hom. *h. Ven.* 123 (quoted § 59).

Fallow land is usually considered as ground that is well ploughed and harrowed, but left uncropped for a whole year or more. However, there are also modified forms such as 'bastard fallow' where a fall-planted crop is pastured off or harvested in an immature state in the spring and the land then cultivated. The Latin sources explicitly mention different types of fallow, among them the *ueruactum* which was land kept idle for only part of the year, and thus distinct from the *nouale*, left uncropped for a whole year (§ 59). Chadwick's objection that the Pylian land in question could not be uncultivated if it yielded some produce is overcome if Myc. *aktitos* is given not the generic value 'untilled' of alph. Gr. ἄκτιτος but the specific technical sense it has in the Latin syntagma **uoru(om) ak(ti)tom > ueruactum*, i.e. ground kept fallow for less than a whole year[12].

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[9] L. Deroy - M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Cadastre* cit., p. 149.

[10] *Documents*, p. 300.

[11] *Documents*², p. 470. This conclusion weighs heavily upon the interpretation of Myc. *ki-ti-me-na* and *ke-ke-me-na* (see note 12). Other texts where *a-ki-ti-to* land appears connected with a quantity of *SA* are PY Na 406 and 537.

[12] J.L. Melena has drawn my attention to the fact that PY Na 926 deals with flax and the growing of flax implies rotation. It requires clean land, well tilled to destroy

In other words, the etymology *ueruactum* < ϝόρϝον ἄκτιτον requires that the two elements of the Greek syntagma each have the meaning with which they occur in Mycenaean texts and which is not known in later Greek [13].

§ 62. The Mycenaean origin of *ueruactum* also throws light on *ueruō* 'surround' (§ 59.2) mentioned by Paulus Diaconus: '*ueruat* circumdat' [14]. This entry summarizes a passage of Festus where it appears that that word (given there as *uruat*, var. *uaruat*) was used by Ennius in a transferred sense and properly meant surrounding the area of a city with a boundary traced by driving a furrow: '*uruat* Ennius says in [his tragedy] *Andromeda* for *circumdat* (surrounds), from that furrow which is made with the *uruum* of the plough when they found a city' [15].

The verb *ueruō* is a technical term in the foundation ritual of the ancient cities of Latium: 'the founders of a city yoked a bull on the right and a cow on the inside, and, girded after the fashion of Gabii, i.e. with their head covered with part of the toga and with another part tucked around, they held the plough-handle bent sideways, so that all clods would fall on the inside, and thus they drew a furrow to trace the layout of the walls, lifting the plough in the space for the gates' [16]. This ceremony was called 'Etruscan rite' because it was prescribed by Etruscan town-planners and preserved in

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weeds, and is attacked by several diseases, including wilt. 'Before wilt-resistant varieties were developed, flax could be grown on the same land for only a few years before the crop failed because the soil became infested with the fungus causing the wilt disease' (*Encycl. Britannica*, 1966 ed., IX, p. 431), and flax cultivation could be resumed on the same land only after an interval of some years. It is beyond our scope to inquire whether other Linear-B tablets may already bear witness to Mycenaean rotation practices (but see *Documents*, p. 255, and the great many studies on *ki-ti-me-na* vs. *ke-ke-me-na*, very often interpreted as land-use terms meaning 'cultivated' and 'fallow' or the like).

[13] Besides, the Latin syntagma warrants that Myc. *wo-wo* represents a sing. *worwos*, not a plur. *worwoi* '*boundaries > territory' as surmised by M. Lejeune, *Phonétique* cit., p. 158 and 175, who certainly has in mind Lat. *finēs* plur. (cf. rather Engl. *furrow* as the name of 'a quantity of land having the length or breadth of a furrow' OED, IV.1, p. 617, and *furlong* [O. Engl. *furlang* from *furh* 'furrow' and *lang* 'long'] 'originally, the length of the furrow in the common field, which was theoretically regarded as a square containing ten acres' > 'an area of land a *furlong* each way, containing ten acres' OED, IV.1, p. 612).

[14] Paul. Fest. p. 515.10.

[15] Fest. p. 514.22 ff. *uruat Ennius in Andromeda significat circumdat, ab eo sulco, qui fit in urbe condenda uruo aratri.*

[16] Serv. *in Aen.* 5.755 (quoting Cato) *conditores enim ciuitatis taurum in dexteram, uaccam intrinsecus iungebant, et incincti ritu Gabino, id est togae parte caput uelati, parte succincti, tenebant stiuam incuruam, ut glebae omnes intrinsecus caderent, et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant, aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum*; cf. Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.143.

sacred writings of theirs. Thus, no doubt, it was already a time-honoured
practice when it was observed in the founding of Rome about 753 B.C., a
year well on into the Iron Age (Latial periods IIB - III). And in fact, it
was a ritual of the Bronze Age, i.e. approximately prior to the early 9th
century (Latial period I), and thus more ancient than the establishment of
the first Greek colony at Pithekoussai (Ischia) about 775 B.C.

The Latin ploughshare was of iron, a metal certainly not inauspicious,
especially considering its use in agriculture (indeed, it has many favourable
magic powers in folklore, while bronze has not). For tracing the furrow in
the foundation of Rome, however, the plough was fitted with a brazen share
— a detail no doubt recorded by tradition because it was exceptional and
a fact of priestly conservatism [17] that dates the ritual back to the Bronze Age:
'Romulus founded the city as a colony, after summoning from Etruria men
who prescribed each detail in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and
writings, and who taught them as in an initiation rite; and the founder,
having shod a plough with a brazen share, and having put under the yoke a
bull and a cow, himself led the rite driving a deep furrow round the boundary
lines' [18].

One will notice that Romulus avails himself of Etruscans for direction
(one would say he entrusts the task of town-planning to foreign technicians)
but performs the foundation ceremonies personally. The 'Etruscan rite' con-
sisted in a particular use of realities of everyday peasant life like the bull, the
cow, an ordinary plough, and thus did not necessarily imply an Etruscan
nomenclature among the Latins who practised it. And in fact, the dress of
the city's founder has neither a name nor an appearance alien to the Latin
world — it is just the official religious attire called *cinctus Gabinus*, i.e. a
toga worn after the fashion of Gabii, a town in Latium well south of the
river Anio and the Etruscan border [19].

§ 63. In *Furrow* (quoted p. xv) several Latin forms have been scru-
tinized and the following lexical group from the stem *uoruo-* reconstructed:

*uoruos masch.   *urus* Gloss. 'circuit of the town'
*uoruō   > *ueruō* Paul. Fest. 'surround'
*ambh-uoruō   *aburbāre* Gloss. 'delimitate by the plough'
                           whence *uruō* Fest. 'surround'

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[17] Sources in § 55 notes 36-38.

[18] Plut. *Rom.* 11.1-2 ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ... ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος
ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ
ἐν τελετῇ ... ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὕνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ
θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὔλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι.

[19] On Gabii's importance in the age of Romulus see *Origini*, II, p. 10 ff., and
St. Mic. Egeo-anat., XIX, 1978, p. 49 ff.

> *urbāre* Dig. 'delimitate by the plough'
> *urbāta* Gloss. 'limited around'
> *urbātio* Gloss. 'furrowing around'

but this concerns the inner history of the Latin vocabulary more than its prehistory. Here we need only notice that

(1) the Bronze-Age verb *ueruō*, isolated in Latin, properly designated the driving of the perimetrical furrow to trace the boundary in the foundation of a Latial city, and may be the regular development with *ue-* < *uo-* (§ 59) of a *uoruō* derived (like *dōnō* 'give' < *dōno-* 'gift') from a noun *uoruo-* which would then be strikingly identical with Myc. *worwo-s*;

(2) Myc. *worwos* 'boundary' > 'land (enclosed within boundaries)', the antecedent of Gr. ὅρος Ion. οὖρος 'boundary', is attested in Latin by the Mycenaean syntagma *uoru(om) ak(ti)tom* > *ueruactum*.

Gr. οὖρα nt. plur. 'boundaries' originally meant 'range' and no doubt was a measure based on the length of the furrows a team of mules ploughed in fallow land in a day [20]:

Il. 10.351-353 ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἀπέην ὅσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὖρα πέλονται | ἡμιόνων — αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραί εἰσιν , ἑλκέμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον 'but when he was as far off as is the range of mules — for they surpass oxen in drawing through deep fallow the jointed plough' (which explains the derivative ὀρεύς Ion. οὐρεύς 'mule'),

Od. 8.124-125 ὅσσον τ' ἐν νειῷ οὖρον πέλει ἡμιόνοιιν, | τόσσον ὑπεκπρο-θέων λαοὺς ἵκεθ', οἱ δ' ἐλίποντο 'as far as is the range of a team of mules in fallow land, so far he ran ahead and reached the host, and the others were left behind'.

This οὖρα nt. plur. is the collective of Ion. οὖρος masc. (and from that plural the sing. οὖρον nt. was extracted) [21]: thus the proper meaning of ϝόρϝος was 'furrow' [22]. Already in pre-Homeric times, then, the same word for 'furrow' had developed two different acceptations, viz. 'range, distance' and 'boundary, limit', and the latter sense is clearly due to the practice of tracing a border by driving a furrow. Since in Homer οὖρος does not occur with its original value 'furrow' [23], it may be inferred that that sense had already disappeared by then.

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[20] Cf. *Il.* 23.431 ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὖρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται 'and as far as is the range of a discus swung from the shoulder' and δίσκουρα plur. 'discus' cast' as a measure of distance in *Il.* 23.523 ἐς δίσκουρα λέλειπτο 'he was behind as far as a man throws the discus'.

[21] J. Wackernagel, *Beitr. zur Lehre vom griech. Akzent*, Basel 1893, p. 13-14 note 1 = *Kleine Schriften*, II, Göttingen s.a. [1953], p. 1082-1083 note 1.

[22] F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer*, Halle a.d.S. 1914, p. 261.

[23] For 'furrow' Homer has ὦλξ, found only in the accusative (*Il.* 13.707, *Od* 18.375, and see Chantraine, p. 139, s.v. αὖλαξ).

§ 64. It is now clear that the verb *ueruō < uoruō* 'drive a furrow' derives from a noun *uoruo-*, which attests exactly the original meaning 'furrow' and the transferred meaning 'land (enclosed within boundaries)' (in *ueruactum < uoru[om] ak[ti]tom*) of Myc. *worwos*. Both meanings do not occur in Homer. Thus also the semantic position of the words in question (Gr. *worwos* and Lat. *uoruo-*) shows that the Latin forms (*uoruo-, ueruactum*) come from Mycenaean, not from alphabetic Greek:

Myc. Greek	alph. Greek	Latin
*furrow	Ø	furrow
land	Ø	land
boundary	boundary	boundary

This is not to say that in Latin *uoruos* meant from the outset 'circuit of the town', a fact that would have far-reaching cultural implications but can neither be substantiated nor disproved by the scanty elements we have (after all, it might also be that it meant a furrow drawn by a plough different from that used by the indigenous cultivators, or according to a different ploughing technique — in any event, a clear proof of Mycenaean influence in the agriculture of Latium). But it is, in any case, reasonable to think that Lat. *sulcus*, whether borrowed or hereditary [24], at least at a certain stage of the Roman language was (and remained) the general word for 'furrow', while *uoruos* was either so specific or otherwise already so archaic that it eventually became some kind of a learned relic in the vocabulary of the Augustan age and referred only to the furrow drawn in the foundation of a colony according to a rite still strictly observed under the emperors (which would explain why we do not have a later form *ueruos* with *ue- < uo-*, § 59).

§ 65. If we now revert to the specific names for a cultivated plot in Latin, some facts are beyond argument:

(1) *restibilis* 'land sown every year', whatever its origin, implies the existence of what is not *restibilis*, for it expresses a distinction from fields that are not cultivated every year; and among the terms for such fields

(2) *nouale* 'land sown every other year' is ambiguous as to its origin [25], while

(3) *ueruactum* 'land kept fallow for only part of the year' offers unmistakable evidence in favour of the Mycenaean origin of either the rotation of crops in general (should *nouale* have arisen later than *ueruactum* or ul-

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[24] See Ernout-Meillet, p. 664. For *uersus* the sense 'furrow' is a comparatively recent development which occurred within Latin, see Ernout-Meillet, p. 725 col. II.
[25] It may have arisen within Latin from *nouos < neuos* 'new' or be the paretymological adaptation of a Greek word identical or similar to νειός (likewise influenced

timately go back to a Mycenaean antecedent) or of some specific rotation practice.

Besides, Lat. *uoruos* 'furrow' clearly indicates a Mycenaean influence in the technique of ploughing among early Latins.

§ 66. All this tallies with the Latin tradition summarized in the *Origo gentis Romanae*: 'Evander was the first of all to make known *fruges* met with at first in Greece, and taught thoroughly the practice of sowing, and was the first to yoke cattle in Italy to cultivate the soil' [26].

The word *frux* has a wide range of meaning, but here the text specifically refers to *fruges* introduced by the Arcadian leader, thus to cultivations unknown before then to the Latins. Since *serō* 'sow' is a genuinely Latin verb, from a root *sē- *sə- well attested in Celtic, Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Hittite (but not in Greek) [27], and suggests that sowing was not a foreign usage imported among the early Latins, it seems that the 'practice of sowing' recalled by the tradition is to be understood as a particular method, namely the repeated sowing of different commodities in a specified order on the same field within a given period (in contrast to a continuous one-crop culture or to haphazard crop successions, both of which bring about a yield decline). For instance, in present-day Italy a simple two-year rotation consists in growing grain and keeping the field fallow alternately, a three-year rotation alternates grain, fallow, and legumes [28]. A sowing practice of this kind sounds consistent with the parallel introduction of new agricultural products that the Romans attributed to the Arcadians. And both the Bronze-Age ritual of tracing the foundation furrow with a plough drawn by a team of cattle and the Mycenaean origin of the very name of that furrow (which means some Mycenaean novelty in the technique of ploughing) give credibility to the tradition just quoted that Evander taught the Latins to attach a pair of cattle to a plough.

§ 67. This detail is consistent with what we learn from the Linear-B tablets about the use in Mycenaean husbandry of 'working oxen' in pairs. Cattle are recorded in those texts either with an ideogram ox (elucidated by PY Cn 3, where animals indicated thus are called *qo-o* /g^{w}ōs/ βοῦς plur. acc.

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by νέος 'new') 'fallow land' (e.g. *Il.* 10.353 quoted § 63) or even an Indo-European hereditary term (see Frisk, II, p. 298, Chantraine, p. 740).

[26] Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.3 *primus itaque omnium Euander ... fruges in Graecia primum inuentas ostendit serendique usum edocuit terraeque excolendae gratia primus boues in Italia iunxit.*

[27] Ernout-Meillet, p. 618 and 826.

[28] P. Scheuermeier, *Bauernwerk in Italien*, I, Erlenbach-Zürich s.a. [1943], p. 71 ff.

'oxen') or with two ideograms that may be conventionally transcribed ox^m and ox^f, which specify respectively the male and female sex.

At Knossos some head of ox^m are qualified *we-ka-ta* /wergatai/ plur. 'working' (cf. Gr. βοῦς ἐργάτης 'working ox' [29]) and always occur listed with even numbers — which shows that they are counted (and presumably used) in pairs. Other tablets record ox^m *ZE*, viz. pairs (*ZE*) of oxen, accompanied by the owner's name and sometimes also by the specification *we-ka-ta-e* in the dual.

No doubt *ZE*, which often appears together with *MO*, is the abbreviation of ζεῦγος 'pair' (while *MO* stands for μόνϝος 'single') and occurs when paired items are reckoned (e.g. wheels, horses, halters): for instance, KN So 4430 records WHEEL *ZE 22   MO* WHEEL *1*.

Thus ox^m *ZE* is a yoke of oxen; cf. *Il.* 18.542-543 πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀροτῆρες ἐν αὐτῇ | ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα 'and many ploughers in that [fallow land] were wheeling yokes and drove them hither and thither', Arcadia (4th cent. B.C.) Tegea (*IG*, V.2,3 lin. 1-2) πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι οἷς νέμεν καὶ ζεῦγος καὶ αἶγα 'allotted five and twenty sheep and a yoke and a goat'.

The importance of yokes (ζεύγεα) in Mycenaean agriculture is confirmed by the existence of a specific occupational name in -εύς : *ze-u-ke-u-si* dat. plur., parallel to and joined with the dat. plur. ἱπποφορβοῖς 'horse-feeders, ostlers' in PY Fn 79+1192.10 *ze-u-ke-u-si i-po-po-qo-i-qe* (the word is translated 'ox-drivers' by Chadwick, *Documents*², p. 593, who, as to the derivation, aptly recalls Att. ζευγῖται 'teamsters', one of Solon's classes of Athenian citizens, so named from their being able to keep a team of oxen).

Thus Myc. ζευγεύς is the technical name of the man who is in charge of a pair of animals; cf. Hes. *op.* 436-441 about what Mycenaeans would have recorded as *we-ka-ta-e* ox^m *ZE 1*:

βόε δ᾽ ἐνναετήρω
ἄρσενε κεκτῆσθαι, τῶν γὰρ σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
ἥβης μέτρον ἔχοντε· τὼ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀρίστω.
οὐκ ἂν τώ γ᾽ ἐρίσαντε ἐν αὔλακι κὰμ μὲν ἄροτρον
ἄξειαν, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐτώσιον αὖθι λίποιεν.
τοῖς δ᾽ ἅμα τεσσαρακονταετὴς αἰζηὸς ἔποιτο

'get two male oxen nine years old, for their strength is not easily exhausted since they have the full measure of their youthful vigor: they are best for work. They will not fight in the furrow and break the plough and leave there their work undone. Let a stout attendant of forty years follow them'.

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[29] Archil. 39 Bergk⁴.

§ 68. Besides, Myc. *zeugos* 'pair' might also be the name of a measure of land, if in the tablets PY Aq 64 and 218, that make up a single document, the abbreviation *ZE* refers to a piece of ground:

Aq 64

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                ]-re-wi-jo-te
            ]-ja  mo-ro-qa  to-to  we-to  o-a-ke-re-se            ZE 1 *171 3
ka-do-wo  mo-ro-qa      o-u-qe  a-ke-re-se                        ZE 1
ru-ro   mo-ro-qa          o-u-qe  a-ke-re-se                      ZE  1
ku-ru-me-no  mo-ro-qa  i-te-re-wa  ko-re-te  to-to  we-to  o-a-ke-re-se  *171 6
pe-ri-mo  ti-mi-ti-ja  ko-re-te  to-to-we-to  o-a-ke-re-se       ZE 1 *171 3
                                                    o-a-ke-re-se
pe-ri-me-de-o  i-*65  po-so-ri-jo-no  te-ra-ni-ja  a-ke-re-se  to-to-we-to  *171 12
po-ki-ro-qo  e-qe-o  a-to-mo                                      ZE 1
                    vacant
o-da-a₂  ko-to-na  e-ko-te
e-ta-wo-ne-u  to-to-we-to  o-a-ke-re-se                          ZE 1 *171 6
a-qi-zo-we  to-to  to-to  we-to  o-a-ke-re-se                    ZE 1 [
ne-qe-u  e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo  to-to  we-to  o-a-ke-re-se       ZE 1 [
me-wi  e-ru-ta-ra  me-ta-pa  ki-e-wo  to-to-we-to  o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 [
                    vacant
```


Aq 218

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  o-da-a₂  a-na-ke-e  o pe-ro-te[
ri-so-wa  i-je-re-u[                        ]MAN 1
ne-wo-ki-to  i-je[-re-]u  da-i-ja-ke-re-u    MAN 1
ro-]u-ko  ku-sa-me-ni-jo  me-ta-pa          MAN 1
a-e-ri-qo-ta[            ]jo  o-wi-to-no      MAN 1
a₃-ko-ta  a-da-ra-ti-jo                      MAN 1
                    vacant
o-da-a₂  e-ke-jo to  a-ko-to-no
pa-ku-ro₂  de-wi-jo                  ZE  1
  ]ka-re-u  e-ko-me-na-ta-o  *34-te   ZE  1
        ]  ke-ki-jo                  ZE  1
  ]me-ta  po ru da-si-jo          ZE  1
      ]me-nu-a₂                   ZE  1
  ]ma-ra-te-u  a-pu ka          ZE  1
      qo-te-wo  i-*65          ZE  1
                vacant
```


218 v.

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            di-we-si-po-ro-ti-mi-to-qo-[
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It is only fair to acknowledge with Chadwick that 'the significance of the document is still uncertain despite much discussion. The abbreviation *ZE* is elsewhere used for *zeugos* "pair", "yoke", not only of animals like oxen and horses but also of inanimate objects like wheels. It is possible that it here abbreviates a different word altogether, though it is hard to see what. An alternative approach has been suggested by Ruipérez [30], that *zeugos* here has the sense of a measure of land, i.e. the amount that can be ploughed with a yoke of oxen, a semantic development seen in Latin *iugerum*, which is a singular reformed from the plural *iugera* equivalent to ζεύγεα. Hence Ruipérez concludes that the document relates to the division and allocation of land-holdings. Against this it might be argued that the second paragraph of 218 shows *ZE* entries against names which are listed as *aktoinoi* "having no plot" [line 9]; but *ZE* might refer to a future allocation, or they might hold land other than *ktoinai*. The sense of *e-ke-jo-to* is unclear. Ruipérez also proposes that the mysterious ideogram *171 is a subdivision of *ZE*, but its correlation with the verb *a-ke-re-se* is against this, and it is not confirmed by its independent use at Knossos, as Ruipérez admits' [31].

Besides, the interpretation of *ZE* as *zeugos* in these two texts has been challenged by Sacconi, whose approach stems from the remark that elsewhere ideogram *171 indicates a commodity. Therefore, she also admits that here *ZE* refers to a specific area of ground, but maintains that it is the abbreviation of ζειά 'one-seed wheat, *Triticum monococcum*' (a word hitherto not attested in Mycenaean) and indicates a measure of land expressed by the quantity of seed conventionally corresponding to a given area [32].

However, it is far from sure that *ZE* and *171 stand for homogeneous concepts, viz. both either measures of land or commodities (even to indicate a surface). Whatever the meaning of the two tablets, the correlation of *171 with the verb *a-ke-re-se* is beyond question: in the lines where the text is complete, when a person '*a-ke-re-se* this year (*to-to we-to*)' there occur either *171 or both *ZE* and *171 with various figures; when the person does not perform the action expressed by that verb (which then is in the negative: *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se*), there is only *ZE* 1. Thus *171 appears to be the object or product of the verb, while *ZE* is not, and consequently it is quite possible that while *ZE* 1 is an equal plot allotted to each person in principle, *171 is the seed received or the produce contributed whenever the action expressed by the verb is actually performed on a given area (which might depend again

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[30] M. Lejeune, *Rev. de philol., de litt. et d'hist. anc.*, XXIX, 1955, p. 153 (= *Mém. cit.*, I, Paris 1958, p. 25) note 25, M.S. Ruipérez, *Minos*, IV, 1956, p. 146-147, and V, 1957, p. 177-178, M. Lejeune, *Minos*, VI, 1958, p. 94.

[31] *Documents*, p. 422-423.

[32] *Par. Pass.*, XXIX, 1974, p. 182 ff.

on the fact that some of the *ZE* listed therein have been or will be kept fallow).

To sum up, a Myc. *zeugos* as a land measure is a reasonable hypothesis. Therefore, one can gauge what the implications would be if the surmise were eventually substantiated.

§ 69. Gr. (Myc.) ζεῦγος, gen. ζεύγεος (< *-es-os*), is an *-es*-stem formally identical with Lat. **yeugos*, gen. **yeuges-os* and **yeuges-es* [33], whence eventually *iūgus*, gen. *iūgeris* 'juger' (the sing. *iūgerum* is a back-formation from *iūgera*, plur. of *iūgus*), properly the surface which can be ploughed by a yoke of oxen in a day. Pliny says that 'the land which could be ploughed in a day with one yoke of oxen was called *iugerum*' [34], and Varro specifies: 'each country has its own unit for measuring lands; thus in farther Spain they measure by *iuga* (yokes), in Campania by *uersus* (furrows), among us in the district of Rome and in Latium by *iugera*. They call *iugum* (yoke) the land which a yoke of oxen can plough in a day' [35].

Formally, Lat. *iūgus* can continue an Indo-Eur. **yeugos* gen. **yeuges-os*, so that the etymological problem admits of three possibilities:

(1) Myc. *zeugos* and Lat. *iūgus* are hereditary words, going back independently to Indo-Eur. **yeugos*;

(2) Lat. *iūgus* is a hereditary form which has also come to mean 'juger' by semantic borrowing from Mycenaean;

(3) Lat. *iūgus* < **yeugos* is a loan from Mycenaean, that is to say an Arcadian **zeugos* (gen. **zeuges-os*, plur. **zeuges-a*) [36] has been adopted in Latin as **yeugos* (gen. **yeuges-os* and **yeuges-es*, plur. **yeuges-a*) and obviously fitted in the Latin family of **yeug-* (> *youg-* > *iūg-* in *youg-smen-tom* > *iūmentum* 'draught-beast' etc.) / *yug-* (in *iugum* 'yoke' etc.) / *yung-* (in *iungō* 'to yoke, to join' etc.).

However, while Myc. *zeugos* would have the two senses 'pair' and 'measure of land', Lat. **yeugos* > *iūgus* has only the latter, for it has the sole meaning 'juger', not 'pair'.

In Latin a pair is called *par*, a word of unknown etymology (e.g. *par*

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[33] Beside **yeuges-es* Latin certainly knew also a form in *-os*, i.e. **yeuges-os* identical with the Greek genitive; see W.M. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* cit., p. 380 f. and 384, M. Leumann, *Formenlehre* cit., p. 435.

[34] Plin. *n.h.* 18.9 *iugerum uocabatur quod uno iugo boum in die exarari posset.*

[35] Varr. *agr.* 1.10 *modos, quibus metirentur rura, alius alios constituit. nam in Hispania ulteriore metiuntur iugis, in Campania uersibus, apud nos in agro Romano ac Latino iugeris. iugum uocant, quod iuncti boues uno die exarare possint.*

[36] Or **dyeugos*, unless Arcadia, an isolated area, still maintained the form **yeugos*. Linear-B tablets already show **y* > **dy* or the like in a series of roots (see M. Lejeune,

boum 'a couple of oxen' Pall. 1.21 loosely for 'two oxen'), or is expressed by the adjective *bīnī* < **dwisnoi*, the distributive of *duo* 'two' (e.g. *boues bini* Plt. *Pers.* 317), or by *iugum*, properly 'yoke' for coupling two animals, used specifically for a team of draught-beasts and then generally for any paired animals.

Myc. *zeugos* 'pair of cattle' > 'measure of land' would show the same obvious semantic development of Lat. *iugum* 'yoke' > 'pair of cattle' > 'measure of land' in Hispania, Gr. ζυγόν 'yoke' > 'pair' > 'measure of land' at Amorgos (4th cent. B.C.), O. Engl. ʒeoc 'yoke' > 'pair of animals' > 'measure of land' in Kent, etc.

But *iūgus* 'juger' cannot be the result of a like development within the language of Rome. In fact, Latin lacks any trace of the necessary antecedent *iūgus* 'pair of animals', and one cannot surmise that in this acceptation *iūgus* has been replaced by a new word, for historical Latin does not express the sense 'pair of (yoked) animals' with an innovation; it uses Indo-Eur. **yugom*, a widespread hereditary word that means 'yoke': Lat. *iugum* (Gr. ζυγόν, Ind. *yugám* etc.).

Nor can one envisage a later loan of *iūgus* 'juger' from alphabetic Greek, for ζεῦγος as a measure of land would be exclusively Mycenaean [37].

Therefore, as in the case of *worwos* (§ 64), the semantic position of *iūgus* and *zeugos* shows that Latin would agree with Mycenaean and not with alphabetic Greek, which rules out any connection with the latter:

Myc. Greek	alph. Greek	Latin
pair	pair	Ø
juger	Ø	juger

This line of reasoning about the possible semantic connections between Myc. *zeugos* and Lat. *iūgus* may also be reversed without falling into a *petitio principii*.

Phonétique cit., p. 165 ff.), but even at Pylos there is a slight chance that *y* survived in some cases, see *Documents²*, p. 504 f. J.L. Melena suggests that the peculiar treatment Indo-Eur. **y-* > Myc. *z-* is due to phonic interference in the phase of bilingualism that characterized the early stages of the formation of a literate class in the great Mycenaean palaces, and that the words with *z* are standard forms of the dialect of the scribes while those retaining *y* are substandard forms (*Actas V Congr. Españ. Est. Clás.*, Madrid 1978, p. 753 f.). In such a case, it would be quite natural to find in Arcadia the forms with *y*.

[37] It is irrelevant that it appears in this acceptation in *Cod. Just.* 10.27.2.8 (491-505 A.D.), for there it is a translation of Lat. *iugerum*.

Lat. *iūgus* 'juger' presupposes an antecedent **yeugos *yeugesos*, a form which does not seem to exist in any other Indo-European tongue but Greek [38] (and already in the Mycenaean age), and certainly occurs nowhere else, not even in alphabetic Greek, with the specific meaning of a measure of land. Given the undeniable traces of Mycenaean influence on early Latin agriculture, the fact that in Linear B the same abbreviation *ZE* stands for *zeugos* 'pair of cattle' and may also indicate a definite area (an acceptation for which no word beginning with ζε- is known in alphabetic Greek) is some argument in favour of the hypothesis that in the Pylian tablets Aq 64 and 218 *ZE* is to be read *zeugos* and provides the antecedent of Lat. *iūgus*.

Tradition has it that the Arcadians got from Faunus 'as much of his land as they desired'[39] and that their leader distributed it among his companions[40]. It may be by mere chance that a subsequent apportionment of soil by Faunus' successor is reported as measured by jugers[41].

§ 70. The agricultural terminology of Latin preserves another word of Mycenaean origin: *forbea*, an archaic name for any kind of food, which the ancients already connected with Gr. φορβή[42].

Nowadays this connection is usually ruled out because it implies Lat. *f-* < Gr. φ-[43]. However, such a rendering is a feature of Latin borrowings from Mycenaean, and not from alphabetic Greek, and φορβή 'food' (in Homer only for horses and asses, in later texts for men too) is already attested in Linear B: *po-qa* /phorgʷā/ in PY Un 138.2 *po-qa* OLIVE, viz. olives destined /phorgʷāi/ dat. 'for eating', in a context where it appears that the commodities listed (barley, wine, and two different kinds of olives) are not waste

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[38] It is doubtful that other forms go back, directly or indirectly, to Indo-Eur. **yeugos *yeuges-*. O. Slav. *ižesa*, plur. of *igo* 'yoke', may be an analogical formation (see A. Vaillant, *Gramm. comp. des langues slaves*, II.1, Lyon - Paris 1958, p. 231 ff. and especially p. 237). Goth. *jukuzi* fig. 'yoke' would imply a zero-grade root **yug-* instead of **yeug-* which is normal with the suffix *-es-* (see W. Streitberg, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 1903, p. 494-495, and cf. A. Noreen, *ibid.*, IV, 1894, p. 325).

[39] Dion. Hal. 1.31.2 quoted § 5 note 25.

[40] Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 5.3 *Euander ... non paruum agri modum ad incolendum accepit, quem suis comitibus distribuit* 'Evander received no small amount of territory to live on, which he distributed among his companions'.

[41] Ps. Aur. Vict. *orig.* 12.4 reports that, according to a writer called Domitius, king Latinus had given Aeneas five hundred jugers to live on: *a Latino rege Aboriginum data ei, quae incoleret, iugera quingenta.*

[42] Paul. Fest. p. 74.7-8 *forbeam antiqui omne genus cibi appellabant, quam Graeci* φορβήν *uocant* 'the ancients called *forbea* any kind of *cibus* (food for man and beast), what the Greeks say *phorbé*'.

[43] Ancient sources and modern etymology of the word are given in detail in *Agricoltura*, p. 173 f.

produce intended to serve as fodder, but victuals ἐς φορβήν 'for food', cf. e.g. Hdt. 1.202.1 ἀνθρώπους οἳ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὡραίους καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν 'men who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruits that they get from trees and store up in season for food'.

It is significant that on the one hand *forbea* is quite isolated in Latin, and on the other hand Gr. φέρβω 'feed' and φορβή 'food' find no correspondence in other Indo-European tongues and have no etymology (and in fact it is only Mycenaean which enables us to reconstruct an antecedent with the labiovelar g^w); however, the vowel alternation *e / o* in the verb φέρβω and its correspondent noun φορβή proves that both words, even in case they were not hereditary, are part and parcel of the most ancient Greek vocabulary.

The compound /hippo-phorg^{w}os/ 'horse-feeder, ostler' which occurs as an occupational name at Pylos (§ 67) is evidence that verb and noun applied generically to men and animals alike, and the sense 'food' of Myc. /phorg^{w}ā/ tallies with that of Lat. *forbea*, which means 'any kind of *cibus* (food for man and beast)' as stated by Paul. Fest. p. 74.7-8 just quoted (note 42; for $g^w > b$ see § 29).

As against the Mycenaean word, Lat. *forbea* is clearly a derivative with the adjectival suffix *-eo-*, thus properly a substantivized adjective, and one understands that it qualified 'any kind of food' because its original meaning must have been 'destined /phorg^{w}āi/, ἐς φορβήν'. That is to say, it referred to provisions and suggests a Mycenaean influence on the storage of victuals among early Latins.

As to the analysis of *forb-ea*, which can either be a Mycenaean adjective or one developed within Latin, one will notice that also Myc. /phorg^{w}ā/ had derivatives. The Pylian tablets already attest /phorg^{w}ewiā/ as the antecedent of Gr. φορβειά 'halter' by which the horse is tied to the manger: *po-qe-wi-ja* /phorg^{w}eiai/ nom. plur. PY Sb 1315.4 in a list of harness items, *po-qe-wi-ja-i* /phorg^{w}eiāhi/ dat. plur. PY An 1282.2 in what seems to be a list of equipment for chariots.

The Mycenaean origin of *forbea*, which has been posited on purely linguistic grounds, has a cultural significance that is fully confirmed by the Roman tradition. In the *Aeneid*, Evander says himself: 'in these woodlands dwelt the native Fauns and Nymphs, and a race of men sprung from trunks and hardy oaks [44], who had no rule nor art of life, and knew not how to yoke oxen or to store up produce or to husband the offspring, but tree-branches

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[44] A reminiscence of a common Greek saying already quoted in *Il.* 22.126 and *Od.* 19.163.

nourished them and the huntsman's rough fare'[45]. On a background where a Latial economy dependent mainly on gathering and hunting is anachronistically depicted, three precise details attributed to the Arcadian hero stand out: once again, the plough drawn by cattle; breeding or some form of it; and the technique of storing up agricultural produce which is implied by the Mycenaean origin of *forbea* — one more piece of evidence that in the poetical weft and warp of such traditions there may be more than a thread of truth.

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[45] Verg. *Aen.* 8.314-318 *haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant | gensque uirum truncis et duro robore nata, | quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros | aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto, | sed rami atque asper uictu uenatus alebat.*

VII

RELIGION

§ 71. By far the most important goddess throughout the Mycenaean world is *Potnia* (alph. Greek πότνια 'mistress'). It appears that 'she is really the prominent female figure of both Minoan and Mycenaean art, who was later accepted into the canon under a variety of names, especially Demeter'[1].

Unfortunately, 'Mistress' (which might also be an epithet in lieu of a proper name that should not be pronounced) is so generic a designation that it makes impossible her identification with any definite goddess of Greek religion.

Besides, when the word occurs in specific expressions like e.g. the Knossian *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /Athānāi Potniāi/ 'for the Mistress Athena' in a list of divinities (V 52.1), the Pylian *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* /Potniāi Hiqqʷeiāi/ 'for the Mistress of the Horses' (An 1281.1), or the *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* perhaps /sītōn Potniāi/ 'for the Mistress of the Grains' at Mycenae (Oi 701.3), we do not know whether *potniā* refers to different goddesses or to different aspects of one and the same divinity.

Here, it will suffice to notice that the 'Mistress', as she was called *tout court*, was no doubt the most prominent goddess in Mycenaean religion.

A feature of Potnia is that at Pylos a derivative of her name, *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, qualifies a group of smiths: *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo ka-ke-we* 'smiths in the service of Potnia' (Jn 310.14, cf. 431.16). In this aspect, as Chadwick pointed out, she is probably the predecessor of Athena[2], known in classical times both as a protector of craftsmen and a warrior divinity (so that in later Greek art she will be represented also holding a Nike in her hand).

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[1] *Documents*², p. 410.

[2] *Documents*², p. 509, and *The Myc. World*, Cambridge 1976, p. 93.

Whether in this aspect she was specifically called *Athānā* or not in Mycenaean religion, no doubt Potnia had also features that subsequently will distinguish the classical Athena.

The sequence '(1) nominative (2) genitive' is the normal word order in Mycenaean when the genitive is not stressed, while the genitive is placed before the nominative if it is stressed[3]. Thus, for instance, the Pylos tablet Fn 50.1-3 reads

a-ta-no-ro	*qa-si-re-wi-ja*	BARLEY [
ke-ko-jo	*qa-si-re-wi-ja*	BARLEY [
a-ki-to-jo	*qa-si-re-wi-ja*	BARLEY T [

giving first place to the three genitives because it needs distinguish Antanor's *qa-si-re-wi-ja* /g^wasilēwiā/ (lit. = βασιληϝίᾱ) from that of the man called *ke-ko*, and that of Alkithos — or rather, one might as well say, because in these accounts, just as in modern bookkeeping, the proper name must be given priority for the sake of easy perusal and reference. Conversely, when no stressing is needed the genitive follows, as e.g. in the Knossos tablets of the *So*-series that list *a-mo-ta e-ri-ka* /(h)armota helikās/ (lit. = ἅρμοτα ἑλίκης) 'wheels of willow-wood' and *a-mo-ta pte-re-wa* /(h)armota ptelewās/ (lit. = ἅρμοτα πτελέης) 'wheels of elm wood'.

In the Thebes tablet Of 36, which records amounts of wool for various recipients, in *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de* the allative /woikon-de/ ϝοικόνδε 'to the house' following the genitive /potniās/ proves beyond doubt that (whatever the name for the dwelling of human beings) 'the house of a deity' was called in Mycenaean /woikos/[4].

One may then conclude that, outside the bureaucratic style of these bookkeeping records, when there was no need for stressing the genitive, the cult place of the goddess Potnia was called *woikos potniās*.

§ 72. Thus far, 'the ubiquitous Mycenaean goddess', as Chadwick aptly called her[5], is attested at Knossos, Thebes, Pylos, and Mycenae — the last two cities being located at either side of Arcadia.

Let us now turn our attention to the traditions about the religion of Evander's settlement on the Palatine.

Immediately after relating that the Arcadians built a temple 'at the foot of the hill' to their most important divinity, Pan, Dionysius adds: 'upon the summit of the hill they set apart the precinct of Nike and instituted sacrifices to her, too, lasting throughout the year, which the Romans performed even

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[3] Y. Duhoux, *Minos*, XIV, 1973 (publ. 1975), p. 129-132.

[4] Cf. also, at Knossos, As 1519.11 *ma-ri-ne-wo wo-i-ko-de*, and see Th. G. Spyropoulos - J. Chadwick, *Thebes Tablets* cit., p. 89 and 93.

[5] *Thebes Tablets* cit., p. 91.

in my time'[6]. It must be inferred that the goddess Νίκη 'Victory' was the foremost female divinity of the Arcadian pantheon and the most prominent immortal after Pan[7].

A state temple to *Victoria* was erected on the Palatine in 294 B.C., but this does not necessarily mean that the cult did not exist before then. Dionysius was certainly aware of the dedication of that temple by the consul L. Postumius, a fact he must have mentioned in a lost book of his work, which covered Roman history until the beginning of the first Punic war (264 B.C.). Nor could the fact have been unknown to Plutarch, who had it that the goddess was honoured in the age of Romulus: 'among other spoils he brought also a bronze four-horse chariot from Cameria; he set it up in the temple of Hephaestus and had himself represented as being crowned by Victory'[8].

As Wissowa pointed out, either the prehistoric precinct of Victory mentioned by Dionysius is a fiction with a view of antedating her cult, thus tracing the invincibility of the Romans back to their very origins, or else the name of Victory is only a comparatively late detail and stands for the name of an earlier goddess who was identified with Victory[9]. No doubt the latter explanation is the correct one.

Another passage of the Greek historian enables us to see in the proper light his statement on the cult of Victory in primitive Latium.

When he relates to his Greek readers that in the Sabine territory there is a lake 'which the natives hold in honour as sacred to Nike, for it has something meet for a god'[10], Dionysius, as is often his wont, renders for the sake of clarity an indigenous divine name with that which is (or was assumed to be) its Greek equivalent. In this case, he translates with Νίκη 'Victory' the name of the *antiqua Vacuna*[11], accepting her identification with the Roman *Victoria* maintained by Varro — an opinion, however, that did not enjoy general favour[12].

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[6] Dion. Hal. 1.32.5 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες θυσίας καὶ ταύτῃ κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, ἃς καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθυον.

[7] The very name of Evander's mother, Νικο-στράτη (§ 9), though worth being remembered, by itself does not imply that Νίκη, either as an individual divinity or as an aspect of some goddess, was worshipped by the colonists from Pallanteion.

[8] Plut. *Rom.* 24.3 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις καὶ χαλκοῦν ἐκόμισε τέθριππον ἐκ Καμερίας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Νίκης στεφανούμενον (for the interpretation see *Origini*, II, p. 81 ff.).

[9] G. Wissowa, *Religion* cit., p. 140.

[10] Dion. Hal. 1.15.1.

[11] Ov. *fast.* 6.307.

[12] Pseudacr. in Hor. *epist.* 1.10.49 *Vacunam alii Cererem, alii deam uacationis dicunt, alii Victoriam, qua fauente curis uacamus. Vacunam apud Sabinos ... Varro primo*

Likewise, in the case of the Arcadian cult established on the Palatine, the Greek historian calls Nike a most ancient Roman goddess still honoured in his time.

In fact, he recalls that in 509 B.C. the consul P. Valerius Publicola, who had built himself a house in a position of natural strength on 'a fairly high and steep hill' that stretched out from the north side of the Palatine, 'which the Romans call Velia, that commands the Forum', assuaged popular discontent by removing the building from the top to the bottom of the hill [13]. Now then, the site of the new mansion was in an area where in Dionysius' time (1st cent. B.C.) there existed a cult of *Vica Pota* — no doubt then a minor divinity whose worship was obsolete, for she is known to us mainly because Livy and Plutarch refer incidentally to her shrine in order to locate the place where Publicola's mansion was rebuilt: Livy records that 'immediately all the materials were brought down below the Velia and, where now is the shrine of Vica Pota, the house was built at the bottom of the slope' [14]; Plutarch writes that 'the people gave him a site and built him a house where now stands the shrine called *of Vica Pota*' [15].

In the 1st cent. B.C. that goddess was identified with (and also named) *Victoria,* for Asconius recalls that a contemporary of Dionysius, '[C.] Iulius Hyginus says that the people granted Publicola at the expenses of the state a site for his mansion below the Velia, where now is the shrine of Victory' [16] (this explains what Dionysius and Plutarch say about the cult of Victory in prehistoric times and shows once more that their alleged inconsistencies are usually due to modern interpreters).

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rerum diuinarum Victoriam ait 'some say Vacuna is Ceres, some the goddess of freedom, some others Victory, with whose favour we are free from cares. Varro in the first book of his *Religious Antiquities* has it that among the Sabines Vacuna is Victory'. On Sabine matters Dionysius avowedly follows Varro's work, see 1.14.1 and 2.48.4.

[13] Dion. Hal. 5.19.1-2.

[14] Liv. 2.7.12 *delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae est, domus in infimo cliuo aedificata.*

[15] Plut. *Publ.* 10.4 τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν οἰκίαν ... ὅπου νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν Οὐίκας Πότας ὀνομαζόμενον. I have translated literally the wording of Plutarch because it seems to imply that the shrine was commonly named by using only the genitive *Vicae Potae,* as in Livy's passage just quoted.

[16] Ascon. p. 12 *Iulius Hyginus dicit ... Publicolae aedium publice locum sub Veliis, ubi nunc aedis Victoriae est, populum ... concessisse.* Plutarch's ἱερόν (see note 15) is generic, but Asconius, perhaps quoting Hyginus verbatim, says *aedis,* i.e. a cult building simpler than a *templum.* In Livy's passage (see note 14) the very ellipsis of *aedis* avoids a disturbing consonance with the subsequent *aedificata,* whose connection with another word, *domus,* ruled out the possibility of an alliterating expression in the form of a *figura etymologica* (a detail overlooked by Livy's editors who add *aedes* therein).

Apart from these accidental mentions, which we owe merely to the fact that that shrine was a suitable means of orientation for readers acquainted with the monuments of Rome (and it is significant that such a detail does not occur in Dionysius, who writes specifically for Greeks not familiar with the life of the *urbs*), the goddess is recorded only far from Rome in the pre-Julian calendar of Antium, *ILLR* 9, Jan. 5th, *non(ae) f(astus) Vicae Pot[ae]*, and in a passage of the *Apocolocyntosis*: 'Diespiter, son of Vica Pota, he also a consul elect, and a petty money-broker; by this trade he made a living: he used to sell cheap citizenship rights' [17].

As Dio Cassius records, 'many bought citizenship rights from Messalina and imperial freedmen, and the price eventually grew so low that it came to be a common saying that one could become a citizen by giving a person some broken glass; for his course in this matter, therefore', the historian relates, 'Claudius brought ridicule upon himself' [18].

Two main divinities speak in his favour in the *Apocolocyntosis*. First *Ianus pater*, regarded as the most ancient of the gods, 'principium deorum' [19]. Then *Diespiter*, also a consul elect as Janus (and presumably, like his colleague, designated for the afternoon and thus idle).

This passage is a mocking reference to Claudius' revival of obsolete religious traditions [20] and proves that according to them *Vica Pota* was no less than the mother of the greatest of the gods, Jupiter, called *Diespiter* in the archaic oath formula of the Fetials [21] which that emperor had brought back into usage [22]. The descendance of the greatest of the immortals from so insignificant a goddess sounds even more humorous, linguistically as well as religiously, if one bears in mind the interpretation of *Vica Pota* as *Victoria*: in an age when Minerva had been identified long since with the victory goddess Athena, daughter of Zeus [23], the expression "Dies*piter* Vicae Potae *filius*" is not only a pun but also runs contrary to her lineage from Jupiter.

One must conclude that in times of old Vica Pota was certainly one of the foremost divinities of the Roman pantheon and her characteristics could lead to interpreting her as Νίκη and *Victoria*.

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[17] *Apocol.* 9.4. *Diespiter Vicae Potae filius, et ipse designatus consul, nummulariolus; hoc quaestu se sustinebat: uendere ciuitatulas solebat* (diminutives are clearly scornful in this passage).

[18] Dio Cass. 60.17.5-7.

[19] G. Wissowa, *Religion* cit., p. 109.

[20] Suet. *Claud.* 22 *quaedam circa caerimonias ... exoleta reuocauit* 'as to religious ceremonies he revived some old customs'.

[21] Liv. 1.24.7-8, cf. Paul. Fest. p. 102.11-13.

[22] Suet. *Claud.* 25 *cum regibus foedus in Foro icit porca caesa ac uetere fetialium praefatione adhibita* 'with foreign rulers he struck his treaties in the Forum, sacrificing a sow and reciting the ancient formula of the Fetials'.

[23] G. Wissowa, *Religion* cit., p. 255.

§ 73. This is consistent with the fact that the divine name *Vica Pota* is the Latin folk etymology of the Mycenaean designation of the cult place of Potnia, i.e. *woikos potniās*.

The form *Vica* has *ī < ei*, as shown by *Veica Noriceia* of a dedication from Carnia[24] where the ancient Roman Victory goddess is connected with the region *Noricum* by a geographical epithet as in expressions like *Victoria Britannica*[25].

What regular development Myc. *woikos* 'house' would have undergone in Latin is shown by the evolution of its very antecedent: Indo-Eur. **woikos* > Lat. **woikos > ueicus > uīcus* 'village'.

Folk etymology is by its own nature an abnormal phenomenon as against established sound-change rules, and therefore a development Myc. *woikos potniās* > Lat. **woikā potā* (> *Vīca Pota*) can be admitted only in so far as it is substantiated by cogent factors, religious as well as linguistic. We shall enumerate them, in an order perhaps more logical than chronological, since folk etymologies are often brought about by the concurrent action of several circumstances.

Perhaps the linguistic circumstance under which Myc. *woikos potniās* became the denomination of the divinity honoured there was the common omission in Latin of the word for 'shrine' when followed by the genitive of a theonym, e.g. *ad Dianae* 'at (the shrine) of Diana'[26] — a usage akin to modern Engl. *at* with the possessive to indicate at a person's (house).

The expression *woikos potniās* was probably a mere place-name for the inhabitants of early Latium not conversant with Mycenaean — the very fact that it designated a shrine must have meant that it sounded to them like the double name of the divinity honoured there, according to the onomastic pattern of such indigenous goddesses as *Anna Perenna, Panda Cela*, etc. In other words, in an age when the Latin genitive singular of the feminine *-ā*-stems ended in *-ās* as in Mycenaean, *woikos potniās*, with or without prepositions, must have become a double genitive *woikās potniās*, just as the double genitive *Vicae Potae* stands alone as the name of that shrine in Livy[27]. Concurrently, the aspects of the Mycenaean Potnia akin to those of classical Athena prompted the connection of *woikā* with *uincō* 'win' perf. *uīcī < weikei < *woikai*, and later the identification of *Vīca* with *Victoria*, the goddess of the victory that *has been* carried off by somebody or over somebody (as is indicated by denominations of the pattern *Victoria Caesaris* or *Victoria Britannica*, and for the latter cf. *Veica Noriceia*).

[24] *CIL*, I²2,2217 and p. 714 = p. 736, *ILLR* 268.
[25] A. Baudrillart, *Les divinités de la Victoire*, Paris 1894, p. 52.
[26] Ter. *Ad.* 582.
[27] Liv. 2.7.12 quoted § 72 note 14, and cf. notes 15 and 16.

This connection with the perf. *uīcī* is not unique. The double name *Aius Locutius* for an *Augenblicksgott* who *had* spoken only once [28] to foretell the coming of the Gauls derived, as the second element shows (cf. *locutus* [*est*] 'spoke'), from two verbal pasts, the first being the archaic perf. *ait* 'said' [29]; and, in fact, in an age when the use of *aiō* had become restricted to the present and some forms of the present system (so that occasionally forms of the perfect were also taken to be presents) [30], the Romans felt an incongruity between the two constituents and a double name with the present participle of *loquor* also arose: *Aius Loquens* [31].

§ 74. That this development **woikā* < perf. **woikai* was actually the case is confirmed by the correspondent folk etymology *potā* < *potniā*.

From the phonetic viewpoint, an adaptation was unavoidable, for the cluster -*tn*- is alien to Latin.

Myc. *potniā* is an Indo-European feminine **pot-nī* (Sanskr. *pátnī*- 'mistress, goddess', etc.), which does not exist in Latin and corresponds to the masculine Indo-Eur. **potis* 'master' (Sanskr. *páti*-, Gr. πόσις, etc.), which has a continuation in archaic Latin: *potis* 'able' [32], 'potent', referring to divinities in old religious texts: 'these (gods) are those whom the Books of the Augurs quote as "deities who are *potēs*" (plur.) for what the Samothracians call θεοὶ δυνατοί (powerful gods)' [33]. The original meaning 'master' of Lat. *potis* is still evident in its derivatives *potiō* 'put into the power of (a master)' and *potior* 'become master'.

The connection with *uincō* and *potior* is proven by Cic. *leg.* 2.11.28: *quodsi fingenda nomina Vicae Potae et potius et uincendi atque potiundi, Statae standi, cognominaque Statoris et Inuicti Iouis* 'but if names must be invented, such must rather be chosen as that of Vica Pota from both winning and mastering, Stata from standing, and epithets as Stayer and Invincible for Jupiter'. The restoration of the passage is debated but that folk etymology is beyond discussion because of the clearly chiastic construction of the text:

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[28] Varr. ap. Gell. 16.17.2 *Aius deus appellatus ... quod eo in loco diuinitus uox edita erat* 'the god was called Aius for in that place a voice had been prophetically emitted'.

[29] Prob. (1st cent. A.D.), *GLK*, IV, p. 35.29-31; cf. *Thes. Lat.*, I, col. 1453.12 ff.

[30] E.g. Prisc., *GLK*, II, p. 494.11-13 and 542.13-16.

[31] Cic. *diu.* 1.101.

[32] Enn. *ann.* 174 V³ *quis potis ingentis oras euoluere belli?* 'who is able to unroll the great edges of (the book of) war?'.

[33] Varr. *l. Lat.* 5.58 *hi* (sc. *dii*) *quos augurum libri scriptos habent sic diui qui potes pro illo quod Samothraces* θεοὶ δυνατοί.

Vica Pota   *uincendi*   *Stator*
                                                        Iuppiter
Stata   *standi*   *Inuictus*
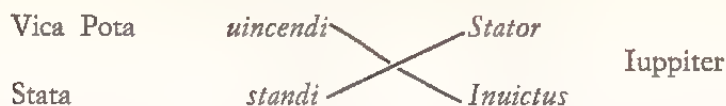
No doubt *potā*, which happens to preserve form and sense of the radical (*pot-*) of Myc. *potniā*, was felt as semantically connected with *woikā* as in other meaningful double names of Latin divinities like the god *Aius Locutius* and the goddesses *Panda Cela* (from *pandō* 'open' and *cēlō* 'conceal') and *Anna Perenna* (from *annō* and *perannō* both meaning 'pass a year') [34].

It would be easy to construct an ad hoc explanation of *potā*. Adjectives ending both in *-is* and *-us* (fem. *-a*) are amply attested in archaic Latin [35] and, just as Ernout-Meillet, p. 35, surmised that *perennis* had a doublet **perennus* fem. *-a* in the name of the goddess *Anna Perenna*, one could suppose that *potis* had a doublet **potus* fem. *-a*. However, this hypothesis would be as unprovable as it is unnecessary: suffice it to notice the obvious fact, shown in the divine names just quoted, that in such Latin denominations both constituents end in *-us* or *-a* according to the sex of the divinity [36].

§ 75. Dionysius relates also: 'the Arcadians, once they had joined in a settlement at the foot of the [Palatine] hill, erected temples, first to Pan Lykaios as Themis [37] prescribed (for to Arcadians Pan is the most ancient and the most honoured of the gods)' in the place called *lupercal*, and 'celebrated their traditional sacrifice, which the Romans have continued to offer up to this day in the month of February, without changing anything in the rites then performed' [38].

Though many aspects of this cult are debated, it is sure that the festival called *lupercalia* had, among its main purposes, the aim of securing Pan's protection of the herds from wolves, and thus its priests were somehow connected with those voracious animals. This is why Roman antiquarians related *lupercalia* with *lupus* 'wolf'.

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[34] A haplology from a perf. *potīta* (*est*) 'mastered' is hardly possible. Any connection of *Vica* with *uica peruica* or *uinca peruinca* (a double name formed just like *Anna Perenna*), a plant also called *Victoriae folium* (Gr. νικήφυλλον, Ps. Apul. *med. herb.* 59 ed. Ackermann p. 222), could be the result of sheer folk etymology.

[35] Cf. § 42 note 23.

[36] Either explanation is possible for *Carmentis -nta* (§ 9-10, and cf. *Aspetti*, p. 50).

[37] Viz. Nicostrate, Evander's mother (§ 10).

[38] Dion. Hal. 1.32.3-5 οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀρκάδες ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ συνοικισθέντες ... ἱερὰ ἱδρύονται, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανὶ τῆς Θέμιδος ἐξηγουμένης (Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Πάν) ... τῷ θεῷ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσαν, ἣν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου Ῥωμαῖοι θύουσιν ἐν μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ... οὐδὲν τῶν τότε γενομένων μετακινοῦντες. The many sources about the *lupercalia* are quoted and thoroughly discussed in *Aspetti*, p. 8 ff.

In a linguistic environment featuring $k^w > p$, i.e. $*wl^uk^wos > lupus$ (§ 29), the name of those priests, *lupercālēs* plur., is the natural continuation of a Gr. $*wl^uk^w$-*arkădes* '*Λυκ-αρχάδες*', i.e. 'Wolf-Arcadians'. The form $*wl^uk^w$-*arkădes* could hardly be originally indigenous in Latium, not only for its structure (Latin, unlike Greek and most Indo-European languages, shrinks from compounds) but also chiefly for the treatment of -*ă*-: through the subsequent phase of the initial stress, this sound would have developed into $e > i$ ($ag\bar{o} : *\acute{a}d$-$ag\bar{o} > adig\bar{o}$) or at least become e (*gradior* : $*\acute{a}d$-*gra-dior* > *aggredior*), that is to say $*wl^uk^w$*arkăd*- would have changed to *lupercid*- or at least *luperced*-.

But a genuinely Greek compound $*wl^uk^w$-*arkădes*, in the Latin environment which has $*wl^uk^wos > lupus$, could not help being adapted from the very beginning as $*wl^uk^w$*arkālēs* > *luparcālēs* and then, as a result of the initial stress, *lupercālēs*. In fact, apart from late Graecisms, Latin has no nouns in -*ădi*-[39] or -*ăli*-, so that $*wl^uk^w$*arkădes* had to be assimilated to the adjectives in -*āli*- plur. -*ālēs*. And as a matter of fact the Romans perceived it as an adjective: note e.g. *CGL*, V, p. 415.37 *luperci sacerdotes lupercales* 'luperci: the lupercal priests'.

Thus Lat. *lupercālēs* < $*wl^uk^w$*arkădes* is one of those loanwords borrowed in the form of the plural — and *pour cause*, for it was the name of a group of priests.

§ 76. From *lupercālēs*, according to the derivation pattern

divinity *Volcānus* > adjective *Volcānālis*

            priest   (*flāmen*) *Volcānālis*

            festival   *Volcānālia*

            place   *Volcānal*

(a most ancient derivation scheme, for the adjective of Evander's mother *Carmentis -nta* is *Carmentālis*)[40], developed the name of the ceremony *lupercālia*, the place-name *lupercal*, and the back-formation *Lupercus* for the god as well as his priests.

It must be stressed, though, that *Lupercus* was not the name of the divinity honoured in the Lupercal, whom the Romans called *Pan* or *Pan Lycaeus* or else *Faunus* or *Faunus Lycaeus*, but (just like *Lycaeus*) was an epithet expressing the particular function of the god as wolf-averter — and in fact the ancients interpreted *Lupercus* according to *lupus* and *arceō* 'keep

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[39] There is a unique example in Apuleius (2nd cent. A.D.): *retrogradis* as doublet of *retrogradus*.

[40] In expressions certainly ancient for they pertain to most conservative areas of the language: *Carmentalia* the festival, *flamen Carmentalis* a priest instituted by Numa (*Origini*, II, p. 160-161), *porta Carmentalis* one of the gates of Rome.

off' or *parcō* 'spare', and called *Luperca* the she-wolf who spared and nourished Romulus and Remus.

Here again, the same phenomenon has occurred which we noticed for the name of Evander's mother, replaced among the Latins by the epithet *Carmentis -nta*. The Arcadian name of the god has been supplanted by the Latin appellative *Lupercus* (forms like *Pan* and *Lycaeus* are clearly late retrievals from the Greek tradition). However, in the case of the lupercal divinity we have also a local name: *Faunus*.

§ 77. Tradition has it that Evander declared Faunus a god (a divinization according to a custom of which we have other traces among the Arcadians) and identified him with Pan. Once again linguistics may explain, if not the deification of the king of the Aborigines, at least the reason for such an identification, which is exactly the same motive that led the Arcadians to identify their toponym Παλλάντειον with the name *Palatium* of the Aborigines (§ 8).

The antecedent of Πάν gen. Πᾱνός (the Arcadian form that has generally prevailed in Greek) is the uncontracted form /pāōn/ gen. /pāonos/, attested by the dat. Πάονι on a 6th-century inscription from the god's sanctuary at Melpeia, in Arcadia: *IG*, V.2,556 ἀνέθυ]σε τοῖ Πάονι.

The Latin labiodental /f/ was earlier a bilabial fricative /Φ/, i.e. articulated with the same closure as /p/, and therefore would sound like /p/ to an Arcadian ear. The name of the king of the Aborigines, thus far without serious etymology, then sounded /Φaŭnos/ — and to an Arcadian ear /paŭnos/, i.e. closely akin to that of the Arcadian god /pāōn/ gen. /pāonos/ [41].

The fact that the *lupercalia* were imported by the Arcadians explains the circumstance that the rite is only known at Rome and in places of most ancient Latium like Tibur (an Argive colony, § 4) and Castrum Inui (*Inuus* is another name of Pan), and credence in the *Fauni* (identical with that in the Πᾶνες among the Greeks) is restricted to the peasantry near Rome [42]. Indeed, the *lupercalia* was not an indigenous cult in Central Italy but a festival of a foreign settlement on the Palatine that seems to have had neither a long life nor a strong expansion.

§ 78. The Arcadian origin of the *lupercales* and our explanation of their name are also confirmed by the Greek provenance of a term, hitherto of

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[41] The name of Pan is not known in Mycenaean, for *pa-ja-wo-ne* /paiāwonei/ dat. is another divinity (see Chantraine, p. 855, and cf. p. 847).

[42] Prob. *in georg.* 1.10 *rusticis persuasum est incolentibus eam partem Italiae, quae suburbana est* 'the peasants have been led to believe this who inhabit that part of Italy which is near Rome'.

unknown etymology, which is peculiar to their purification rites: *februm* or *februum* 'purifying substance'.

This generic meaning was the exact value of the word in the terminology of the *lupercales*.

Censorinus explains that '*februum* is anything which expiates and purifies, and *februamenta* the purification practices, and likewise *februare* means expiate and purify. However, *februum* does not refer to the same substance everywhere, for in the various ceremonies the purification is enacted in different ways. In this month, at the festival of the *lupercalia*, when Rome is purified, they carry warm salt, which they call *februum*' [43]. The general sense of this word as a technical term is confirmed by Servius: 'the *lupercalia* have been instituted and thus the girls are beaten with a goat's thong so that they be free from sterility and be fertile: actually the ancients called the goat's skin itself *februm*' [44]. It ensues that in the *lupercalia* the *februm* was warm salt as well as a goatskin lash, for that name applied to any means of purification.

The form *febr-* [45], with *f-* < σφ- typical of Latin borrowings from Mycenaean, goes back to Gr. σφεδρόν nt. 'pure substance' [46]. Hesychius has σφειδρόν, which he explains by καθαρόν 'pure' (said also of ceremonial purity and the like) and εὐῶδες 'fragrant', but the variant σφεδρόν is sure, for it is listed by Theognostus among words beginning with σφε- (not with σφει-).

As to δρ > *br*, it will be remembered that *dr* is a consonant cluster alien to Latin, which admits it exceptionally (and the fact is unexplained) only in *quadr-* of compounds and derivatives of *quattuor* 'four' [47], and renders it by *br* also in other loanwords from Greek [48].

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[43] Censor. *d.nat.* 22.14 *est februum quidquid piat purgatque, et februamenta purgamenta, item februare purgare et purum facere. februum autem non idem usquequaque dicitur: nam aliter in aliis sacris februatur, hoc est purgatur. in hoc autem mense lupercalibus, cum Roma lustratur, salem calidum ferunt, quod februum appellant*

[44] Serv. *in Aen.* 8.343 *lupercalia instituta sunt .. ideoque et puellae de loro capri caeduntur, ut careant sterilitate et fecundae sint: nam pellem ipsam capri ueteres februm uocabant.*

[45] *Aspetti*, p. 41 note 62.

[46] A rare word mentioned only by the lexicographer Hesychius and the grammarian Theognostus, and isolated in Greek, where no other word begins with σφειδ- and initial σφεδ- occurs only in σφεδαν-ός 'violent' and σφεδαν-άω 'rage' (in the participle form σφεδανῶν 'raging').

[47] It is significant that Indo-Eur. *-dh-* becomes in Latin -d- (e.g. *medhyos > medius*), but *-dhr-* becomes -br-, not -dr- (*rudhros > *rubros > ruber*).

[48] Other examples, whatever their date, are χέλυδρος > *colubros > coluber 'serpent', an ancient epithet of the Tiber preserved in the *Books of the Augurs*, and the vessel name ὑδρία > bria 'wine-vessel', see *Aspetti*, p. 42-43 (Gr. ὑδρία is also used

As was to be expected, then, with the survival of Arcadian rites in Latium [49] the pertinent nomenclatures also have left some traces in the language of Roman religion.

The word *tubus* < στύπος for the trumpet used in those rites (§ 27) is a case in point. Another instance is the pontifical vessel called *capis* < σκαφίς (§ 16 ff.).

§ 79. An originally religious term (and certainly not one of common usage, for its only mention occurs in a lexicographical work) is also *bucar*, preserved by the gloss of Paul. Fest. p. 32.20 *bucar ... genus est uasis* 'bucar is a kind of vessel'.

The word has no etymology (it is not even listed in Walde-Hofmann). Ernout-Meillet, p. 77, surmises: 'a borrowing from Gr. βούκερως? cf., for the ending, *calpar*' [50]. However, in Latin the attested result of βούκερως 'horned like an ox or a cow' is *būcerus*, and besides this Greek word (as well as βουκράνιον 'ox-head', or its Latin equivalent *bucranium*) is not known as the name of a container in the form of an ox-head — which the Greeks called generically προτομή.

The inventory of vessels, furniture, and implements for heating in the thirteen Pylos tablets of the *Ta*-series lists in Ta 711.2-3 a one-handled ewer called *qe-ra-na* and qualified with *qo-u-ka-ra* (Pl. X.1):

> *qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja qo-u-ka-ra ko-ki-re-ja*   EWER 1
>
> *qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja ku-na-ja qo-u-ka-ra to-qi-de-we-sa*   EWER 1

Myc. *qo-u-ka-ra* is certainly either a determinative compound (type μητρο-πάτωρ) 'ox-head' [51] or a possessive compound (type ῥοδο-δάκτυλος) 'with an ox-head' [52], and applies then to a vessel either made in the shape of an ox-head or decorated with an ox-head. The latter explanation holds here, since the former is ruled out by the shape of the container as it is outlined in the ideogram. However, the Mycenaean word clarifies how an ox-head was called in the terminology of vessels.

The reading of the spelling *qo-u-ka-ra* is ambiguous, as it admits /g^{w}ou-karā/ as well as /g^{w}ou-kra(s)/ and the like, so that it is even uncertain whether the word is a substantive or an adjective. But no doubt its first element is *g^{w}ou-* 'βου-, ox' and the second is identical or closely akin to κάρᾱ

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for wine, see Ar. fragm. 136, and a 6th-century container with the inscription ὑδρίη μετρίη, thus an official measure for liquids, has been found at Gravisca in Etruria, see M. Torelli, *Par. Pass.*, XXXII, 1977, p. 400-401).

[49] For the possible Arcadian origin of the cult of *Bona dea* see *Aspetti*, p. 43-45.

[50] Another vessel name, see note 54.

[51] As already interpreted by Ventris, *Eranos*, LIII, 1955, p. 114, cf. *Documents*, p. 335 and 407.

[52] As in *Documents²*, p. 578.

nt. 'head', Hom. κάρη, and κάρ nt. in the adverbial expressions ἐπὶ κάρ 'head-first, downwards' and ἀνὰ κάρ 'upwards'.

In the linguistic environment featuring Lat. *bōs* < *g^w*ōus* (§ 29), the vessel name *bucar* is formally the regular continuation of a Myc. *g^w*ou-kar* or *g^w*ou-karos* (fem. *-karā*) [53] either preserving an ancient *a* before *r* (as in *Caesar*, *iubar*) or as a substantivized adjective of neuter gender (referring to *uas* nt. 'vessel') assimilated into the pattern of *lūcus* > *lūcāris* masc. fem. 'belonging to a grove' and *lūcar* nt. (sc. *aes*) subst. a 'forest tax' [54].

Vases in the shape of a bull's head are attested at Knossos in K 872 (where their name is unfortunately lost)

]ke-ra-a	BULL'S HEAD[	
]me-no ne-qa-sa-pi	BULL'S HEAD *1*	
]te-te ku-ru-so		
ne-]qa-sa-pi	CUP-*no*	*3*

The mention of *ku-ru-so* 'χρυσός, gold' proves that the tablet records valuable objects, like the precious bull's head rhyton found at Knossos in the Little Palace (LM I, c. 1500 B.C.) and the one which came to light in Mycenae (LM I, c. 1500 B.C.). Those bull's heads were libation vessels: the liquid, introduced through a hole in the neck, was spilt through a smaller opening in the lower lip. Their exceptional value in materials and craftsmanship does not mean that also very modest libation vessels of the same type could not be used, like e.g. the rhyton of painted clay and rather coarse craftsmanship (Pl. X.2) found in the Little Palace of Knossos (LM II, c. 1450 B.C.).

If the etymology *g^w*oukar* > *būcar* (thus with *ū*) is correct, and formally it certainly is, the name must be regarded as a term of Mycenaean religion in early Latium [55].

§ 80. Mycenaean religion in Italy is archaeologically attested, thus far, by the female figurines of the Myc. III period (1425-1025 B.C.) which came to light at Lipari as well as in the settlement of Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto

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[53] Cf. Lat. *līber* < *līberos, *satur* <* *saturos*, etc.

[54] Cf. for that matter the ancient *uas* for wine called *calpar* nt. (cf. Gr. κάλπη, κάλπος Hsch.), and also *calpar* nt. (sc. *uinum*): Non. p. 546.28/547.3 *calpar nomine antiquo dolium. Varro de uita populi Romani lib.* i: *quod, antequam nomen dolii prolatum, cum etiam id genus uasorum calpar diceretur, id uinum calpar appellatum* 'the *dolium* (a large jar) was called by the ancient name *calpar*. Varro in his *Living manners of the Roman people*, book i: because, before the noun *dolium* obtained, as also this kind of vessel was called *calpar*, that wine got the name of *calpar*'.

[55] It is irrelevant that Paulus quotes *bucar* without specifying that it was a religious vessel, for the comparison of his summary with the extant fragments of Festus shows that he nearly always omits the religious character of the word when it is mentioned in the original entry (*Agricoltura*, p. 185 f. note 76).

(Pl. XI). Whether representing a divinity or the worshipper, these clay figurines, devoid of any intrinsic value and serving no practical purpose, are evidence of Mycenaean religion. What is more, at Scoglio del Tonno also one such figurine of local production has been found. This late imitation of the Mycenaean models, ugly and uninteresting as a figure, seems to prove that the beliefs with which they were associated had an impact on the indigenous religion [56].

Farther north, and specifically in Central Italy, evidence of so conclusive a description is still lacking. For the time being, it is linguistics that substantiates the ancient traditions about the Arcadian cults on the Palatine by revealing Mycenaean elements in the religion of Rome.

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[56] For a thorough investigation of these figurines see E. French, *Ann. Br. Sch. Ath.*, LXVI, 1971, p. 101-187.

VIII

PROSPECTS FOR THE HISTORY OF LATIN

§ 81. The identification of a Mycenaean constituent in the formation of the language of Rome opens up new perspectives in the study of early Latin culture.

It will be noticed that the quality of the Mycenaean elements we believe we have recognized in Latin is in inverse proportion to their number.

On the one hand, they are all important culture terms. Some names of objects even have a significance that far surpasses the bounds of material culture and mere trade relations: for example, from the viewpoint of cultural relevance, a word like the name of the musical instrument *fidēs* may be considered almost on a par with a god's name. On the other hand, however, the Mycenaean elements we deem to have detected so far are very few in number — and this does not allow a univocal interpretation.

While any shortcomings of the present work should not be underestimated, it is probable that such traces found thus far are few because we have not been capable of retrieving many more — it is to be hoped that others will be able to do so.

However, there is no doubt that in more than one instance a Latin word of Mycenaean origin cannot be recognized as such for the following reasons:

(1) no linguistic data are available, that is to say the Mycenaean antecedent of the Latin word does not appear in Linear B (of whose vocabulary only a few sections are known to us, owing to the very nature of the extant texts) and has not survived in alphabetic Greek; or

(2) no cultural data are available to suggest that the word may be attributed specifically to Mycenaeans in Latium (for example, if we did not chance to know the tradition that credits the Arcadians with the introduction of the lupercal rites on the Palatine, a derivation like *lupercālēs* < *$*wl^uk^war$-kǎdes* would be no more than an idle exercise in etymological imagination); or

(3) the formal features of the Latin word show that it is a Graecism but are not such as to rule out a borrowing from alphabetic Greek (and in this case the recent-date etymology must prevail).

In addition to this, it must also be borne in mind that cultural developments are reflected only in part by linguistic changes.

The Latin name of an object which has its source in the Mycenaean tongue implies that the object, whether as an absolute novelty or as the modification of something pre-existent in Latium, goes back to the Mycenaean world. Besides, as is often observable in modern tongues, it is even possible that there has been no real change in the object referred to and the borrowing is simply due to fashion, interchange with other languages, etc. But in all these different cases, loanwords have a common denominator, namely cultural prestige — and therefore the Mycenaeanisms of Latin are sure proof of Mycenaean influence in early Latium.

However, the contrary does not hold. Not just any novelty in the field of *realia* brings about a new word. For instance, in the course of time, Lat. *carrus*, the Celtic name of the four-wheeled wagon, has been applied to all sorts of vehicles — last but not least to the motor *car*. After having insisted on the inadequacies of tradition and archaeology alone, it is only fair to acknowledge the limitations inherent in linguistic elements. The influence of Mycenaean culture in Latium, whatever its extent, cannot be gauged exactly by the linguistic traces it may have left. It can safely be assumed that these reflect that influence only in part. This is why an outline of the Arcadian impact on the Aborigines drawn solely on the basis of loanwords would always be partial — besides being premature at this stage, when only a handful of Mycenaeanisms can be reckoned with.

But even if further cases are recognized, it may well be that they remain comparatively few because the Mycenaean words survived in only a small number among the Latins; that is to say, because the Mycenaean influence in primitive Latium was less deep than one might expect considering the great prestige of that civilization.

As Östenberg explained for Luni sul Mignone, 'if we have not found more tangible and concrete results of the cultural influence that must have been exerted through the ascertained contacts with the Mycenaeans, this is partly due to the fact that this ferment was not strong enough to give a new turn to the Apennine social context, and partly to this context itself: the peasants and shepherds of the Apennine culture were conservative by nature, and therefore such contacts did not bring about serious changes in their way of life'[1].

Perhaps there was such a wide cultural gap between Mycenaeans and

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[1] C.E. Östenberg, *Luni* cit., p. 254.

Aborigines that 13th-century Latium was not able to assimilate a civilization so much more highly developed, and once connections with the Mycenaean world failed the newcomers themselves degenerated in an unreceptive environment where only a faint memory of their immigration survived[2].

This is exactly what tradition relates: 'those who were left behind by him [i.e. Hercules] as guards and settlers in Italy around the Saturnian hill[3] lived for some time by themselves, but not long afterwards they adapted their way of life, their laws and their religious ceremonies to those of the Aborigines, as the Arcadians and still earlier the Pelasgians had done, and having merged their community with the Aborigines they came to be regarded as of the same nation with them'[4].

Therefore, even if many Mycenaean elements had entered the culture and language of prehistoric Latium, it would not have been strange if only a few had outlived the Arcadian settlement on the Palatine. This would explain why Evander's script left no trace, save a memory of the *miraculum litterarum*, the 'wonder of writing' — just as the graphic experiences of Aegean derivation attested in the Aeolian islands were an episode of no consequence in the local culture.

§ 82. No doubt the Arcadians (and for that matter perhaps subsequent migrations recorded by the tradition, too) may account for some Aegean or Aegeanizing characteristics of the earliest Iron Age culture in the Rome district and the Alban Hills[5], but it is hardly necessary to stress the fallacy of linking *tout court* archaeological data with ethnic and linguistic groups, as has been common practice among many linguists. The attribution of individual cultural elements to a definite people and period, in our case the Mycenaeans, can be safely based only on the Mycenaean remnants that emerge from the depths of the Latin vocabulary of the historic age. And this is exactly what has been attempted in the present work.

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[2] Cf. Dion. Hal. 1.45.3 about the 8th-century Albans ἐκπέμψαντες ἀποικίαν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιόν τε καὶ τὴν Σατορνίαν, ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες τὴν πρώτην οἴκησιν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἦν ἔτι ζώπυρ' ἄττα περιλειπόμενα τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένους 'sending out a colony to Pallantium and Saturnia [i.e. the Palatine and the Capitol], where the Peloponnesians and the Arcadians had made the first settlement and there still survived some faint remains of the ancient race'.

[3] The Capitoline hill (see § 8).

[4] Dion. Hal. 1.44.2 οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουροὶ καὶ οἰκήτορες Ἰταλίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Σατόρνιον ὄχθον ἱδρυμένοι τέως μὲν ἐπολιτεύοντο καθ' ἑαυτούς, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ μακρῷ δίαιτάν τε καὶ νόμους καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ συνενεγκάμενοι τὰ σφέτερα τοῖς Ἀβοριγίνων ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πελασγοὶ πολεώς τε τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι κοινωνή-σαντες συνέβησαν ὁμοεθνεῖς νομίζεσθαι.

[5] See e.g. H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang* cit., p. 67-74 (and cf. p. 48-51 especially for the hut urns).

The identification in Latin of a linguistic and cultural constituent belonging to a civilization that has its own documents in the Linear-B tablets of the 13th cent. B.C. provides us for the first time with chronological data, both relative and absolute, in that grey space between the reconstructed Indo-European and the historic Latin where until now it was impossible to draw any serious chronological and cultural distinction.

The reconstruction of Latin forms representing an intermediate stage between the Mycenaean tablets and the most ancient documents of the language of Rome may be as safe as is in Romance philology the reconstruction of a form intermediate between two documented phases.

It now becomes possible to deal not with prehistory but the history of the language of Rome many centuries before the most ancient texts of Latin.

APPENDIX I

MYCENAEANS AND ETRUSCANS

This work is devoted to Mycenaeans in early Latium. It will not be irrelevant, however, to touch briefly the topic of a possible Mycenaean presence among Etruscans.

Just as there is a tradition about Evander and the exiles from Pallanteion established on the Palatine, there exists one, quite unrelated with it, about Arcadians who settled in Etruria. Whatever the date of their migration, no doubt they came from Tegea, the home town of Evander's father, that lay at a short distance from Pallanteion (Fig. 1): 'Tegea, an Arcadian city, with whose name a town was founded in Etruria by exiles from Arcadia'[1].

Independent of this tradition about the Arcadians in Etruria, another has survived and is worth considering. Its most detailed source is a passage of the Byzantine scholar Joannes Laurentius Lydus (6th cent. A.D.), which is regarded as fanciful and inconsistent even by those who, nevertheless, grant, with all due reservations, that it may contain a kernel of truth. Perhaps a student of religions would find this source more significant than it appears to scholars of classical philology. It is clear that the substance of the passage ultimately goes back to a text of Etruscan religion, i.e. to a text written by people who thought mythologically for people who thought mythologically. A critical interpretation will show its significance as a historical source. The passage reads:

'Tarchon (such is his name) was a haruspex, as he himself relates in his work — one of those instructed by Tyrrhenus the Lydian. And in fact this is shown by the letters of the Etruscans, Evander the Arcadian not yet

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[1] Prob. *in georg.* 1.16 *Arcadiae Tegea ... oppidum, cuius nomine est in Tuscia ab exulibus Arcadiae urbs condita.*

having appeared by then in those places. The type of the script was different and not wholly familiar to us, for [otherwise] really nothing of the religious mysteries and the more necessary knowledge would have escaped notice until the present. In his work, then (which some suppose to be by Tages [2], for actually therein, as in an instruction in dialogue form, Tarchon does ask questions and Tages answers each time in strict accordance to sacred principles), Tarchon says that once, while he was ploughing, something wonderful happened to him, such as no one had ever heard of having happened at any time: from the furrow sprang a little child who seemed just born but had teeth and all the other marks of manhood. This child, then, was Tages ... Tarchon the elder (for there was also a younger, who would war in Aeneas' times) [3], having taken the child up from the ground and set him apart in sacred places, thought fit to learn from him some of the secret matters. Having obtained what he had asked for, he composed a book from what had been said, in which Tarchon inquires in the usual tongue of the Italians [4] and Tages answers, and his responses abide by ancient letters not quite familiar to us' [5].

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[2] For example Serv. *in Aen.* 8.398 *aruspicinae libros et sacra Acheruntia, quae Tages conposuisse dicitur* 'the books about soothsaying and the rites for the dead, which Tages is said to have composed', Schol. Luc. 1.636 *hic Tages ... auguriorum libros scripsit* 'this Tages wrote the books of auguries'.

[3] Lydus refers to a *Tarchon -onis* (once Latinized in *Tarcho* for metre's sake, see Serv. *in Aen.* 8.603 and 10.153) mentioned many times in the *Aeneid* as fighting with his Etruscans on Aeneas' side against Turnus.

[4] A language the Tagetic books seem to have defined as the usual tongue of that epoch, viz. an archaic form of Etruscan. The gen. τῶν Ἰταλῶν in Lydus' text is understandable in the light of the common knowledge among the ancients that in times of yore the Etruscans were masters of nearly all of Italy: as related by Servius, an author Lydus was well acquainted with, 'Italy had been almost entirely under the rule of the Etruscans, as Cato thoroughly described' (*in Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat ... quod Cato plenissime exsecutus est*, Serv. *in Aen.* 11.567; cf. Serv. *in georg.* 2.533, Liv. 5.33.7-11, etc.).

[5] Lyd. *ost.* 3 Wachsmuth Τάρχων, ταύτῃ ἔχων τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἀνὴρ γ[έγονε μὲν] θυοσκόπος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσενήνεκται, εἷς [τῶν ὑπὸ] Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Λυδοῦ διδαχθέντων. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Θούσκ[ων γράμμα]σι ταῦτα δηλοῦται, οὔπω τηνικαῦτα τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπιφανέντος. ἦν δὲ ἀλλοῖός τις ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τύπος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως καθημαξευμένος ἡμῖν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀπορρήτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνον. φησὶ τοίνυν ὁ Τάρχων ἐπὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅπερ εἶναί τινες Τάγητος ὑποπτεύουσιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖ κατά τινα διαλογικὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐρωτᾷ μὲν δῆθεν ὁ Τάρχων, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης ὡς προσκαρτερῶν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς [τυχὸν] συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ κατά τινα χρόνον ἀροτριῶντι θαυμάσιόν τι, οἷον οὐδὲ ἀκήκοέ τις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ γενόμενον· ἀνεδόθη γὰρ ⟨ἐκ⟩ τοῦ αὔλακος παιδίον, ἄρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι δοκοῦν, ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδεές. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ παιδίον ὁ Τάγης ... Τάρχων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος (γέγονε γὰρ δὴ καὶ νεώτερος, ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰνείου στρατευσάμενος χρόνων) τὸ παιδίον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐναποθέμενος τόποις ἠξίου τι παρ' [αὐτοῦ] τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ αἰτουμένου τυχὼν

Had the ancients related this tradition with the one about the founders of Tegea in Etruria, some trace of such a meaningful connection should have survived in the several extant mentions of the texts of the *Etrusca disciplina*.

These texts, the so-called Tagetic books, were written in Etruscan. The Romans translated and studied them[6]. Cicero reports that in the course of time the original version had been expanded, with additions drafted in accordance to its fundamental principles[7]. Such books, then, were a live corpus of the *Etrusca disciplina*, comprehensible to educated readers. One must infer that the *libri Tagetici* which circulated in historic times had it that Tarchon composed his text in the form of a dialogue with Tages: he asked 'in the usual tongue of the Italians' questions which Tages answered, in verse form[8], in accordance with documents written in a script other than the Etruscan alphabet — and in a tongue other than Tarchon's, to judge from the specification of the language the Etruscan haruspex uses in addressing the learned child. Tarchon composed the responses in his own language for the benefit of his fellow countrymen — and again, the admission that 'something of the religious mysteries and the more necessary knowledge' was lost suggests that he said he translated what he could make out of Tages' utterances in a foreign language (which might have justified the additions that purported to complete the text according to the basic principles of the Tagetic doctrine).

We cannot say whether the original core of the doctrine was composed orally or put down in the alleged pre-Evandrian script which was not really familiar to the Etruscans, but in any event it is reasonable to assume that Tarchon's text was easily memorized (thanks, too, to its metrical structure) and handed down through several centuries by word of mouth until it could be committed to the alphabet, of which the earliest Etruscan document known thus far is an inscription from Tarquinia dated to c. 700 B.C.

Sacred books often draw their authority from the story of a supernatural revelation — which is the source of faith for the believer, but does not

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βι[βλίον] ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνέγραψεν, ἐν ᾧ πυνθάνεται μὲν ὁ Τάρχων τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ταύτῃ τῇ συνήθει φωνῇ, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις τε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν γε ἐμμένων τῶν ἀποκρίσεων.

[6] Isid. *orig.* 8.9.35 *quos libros Romani ex Tusca lingua in propriam mutauerunt* 'the Romans translated those books from Etruscan into their own tongue'.

[7] Cic. *diu.* 2.50 *omnem autem orationem fuisse eam, qua haruspicinae disciplina contineretur; eam postea creuisse rebus nouis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis* Tages' 'entire address was the text where the science of soothsaying is dealt with; later it was expanded as new matters were to be learnt and had to be referred to those very same principles'.

[8] Lyd. *ost.* 54 αὐτὸς γὰρ Βικέλλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ τῶν Τάγητος στίχων 'the Roman Vicellius himself from the verses of Tages', Censor. *d. nat.* 4.13 *Tages, qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii* 'Tages, who expounded in verse the science of divination performed by examining the entrails of sacrificial victims'.

authorize the non-believer to reject them *ipso facto* as cultural and historical documents, too. No doubt the *libri Tagetici* related their own wonderful origin and also contained the remarks which somehow happened to survive in Lydus' text about a pre-alphabetic script not familiar to the Etruscans. In fact, the pronoun of the first person betrays the fact that Lydus' wording, even if it came to him through a Latin translation or summary, is substantially a verbatim quotation from the Tagetic text: 'the type of the script was different and not wholly familiar to us', 'his responses abide by ancient letters not quite familiar to us'. And the portion of the Tagetic books in which their supernatural origin was recalled must have been a story told by Tarchon in the first person: 'Tarchon was a haruspex, as he himself relates in his work', 'in his work Tarchon says that once, while he was ploughing' etc.

In point of chronology, the reference to the script of a time preceding that of Evander is ambiguous. It can mean specifically a date earlier than Evander's arrival in Latium, conventionally set in the 13th cent. B.C. (§ 1; but it does not say how much earlier, and so it does not necessarily imply an Aegean system prior to Linear B) [9]. But the reference can also mean pre-alphabetic writing in general, for some ancient scholars mistakenly attributed to Evander the introduction of the alphabet into Central Italy [10] (and in any event, readers of Lydus must have understood that Tages' script was different from the alphabet the Etruscans adopted from the Greek world).

The ambiguity, however, is dispelled by the context itself, which attributes that script to the times of 'Tarchon the elder', i.e. to an age earlier than Aeneas' migration. Aeneas reached Latium when the Aborigines were ruled by Latinus, who had succeeded Faunus, the king whom Evander had associated with. Therefore, this tradition, whether fact or fiction, affirms that originally the Tagetic books were the products of a superior culture which used a script at a date earlier than Evander (who landed in Latium 'about the sixtieth year before the Trojan war') or at any rate prior to Aeneas' arrival after the fall of Troy. And this amounts practically to the same *terminus non post quem*, for according to the chronology of the ancients such migrations occurred between the middle of the 13th century and the first half of the 12th century.

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[9] M. Lejeune, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, LXXX, 1967, p. 54, holds that 'the pre-Evandrian script would then be without doubt a syllabary contemporary of Linear A'.

[10] For instance Tac. *ann.* 11.14 *at in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Demarato, Aborigines Arcade ab Euandro didicerunt* [sc. *litteras*]; *et forma litteris Latinis quae ueterrimis Graecorum* 'as to Italy, Etruscans learnt them from the Corinthian Demaratus, the Aborigines from the Arcadian Evander, and the shape of the Latin letters was that of the most ancient letters of the Greeks'; Mar. Vict., *GLK*, VI, p. 23.14-16 *Cadmus ex Phoenice in Graeciam et Euander ad nos transtulerunt a b c d ... t u litteras numero* XVI 'Cadmus imported from Phoenicia into Greece and Evander to us the letters *a b c d . t u*, sixteen in number'.

The combined evidence of tradition and linguistics sheds light on the origin of the Tagetic doctrine of the Etruscans.

The name Τάγης, gen. Τάγητος dat. Τάγητι [11], is inflected in Latin both as a Greek name in -ēs gen. -ētis and as a Latin name in -ēs gen. -is and -ae: gen. *Tagētis* and *Tagae*, acc. *Tagen*, abl. *Tage* [12]. No doubt the stem in -ēt- is the earlier one and belongs to religious usage, since the corresponding adjective is only *Tageticus* and refers exclusively to the Etruscan doctrine: *Tagetici libri* (Amm. Marc. 17.10.2), *Tagetica sacra* (Granius ap. Macr. *sat.* 5.19.13), *praecepta ⟨T⟩agetica* (Longinianus ap. August. *ep.* 234.1).

This form *Tageticus* (the quantity of *e* cannot be inferred from a metrical text) has an ending which in Latin occurs only in Graecisms [13] as a rendering of -ητικός or -ετικός, thus respectively with *ē* or *ĕ*. Therefore, given Gr. Ταγητ- and Lat. *Tagēt-* as the stem of the proper name, the adjective, whether directly or more probably through an Etruscan form, is certainly *Tagēticus* and corresponds to a Gr. Ταγητικός derived by means of the suffix -ικός.

In early usage, this suffix -ικός occurs almost exclusively in adjectives derived from ethnic nouns: Homer has ὁ Τρώς > adj. Τρωϊκός, ὁ Πελασγός > adj. Πελασγικός, ὁ Ἀχαιός > adj. Ἀχαϊκός. In alphabetic Greek the ethnic of Τεγέα is Τεγεάτης (Ion. -ήτης) and the corresponding adjective Τεγεᾱτικός (Ion. -ητικός). Since tradition has it that Arcadians settled in Etruria and founded a town with the same name as the Arcadian Τεγέα, one has reason to infer that the Etruscan religious texts dictated by a foreigner and which the Romans called *Tagēticī*, with an adjective whose ending is the Latinization of -ητικός, were properly Τεγεᾱτικοί (Ion. Τεγεητικοί).

Between the Arcadian toponym Τεγέα and the Latin adjective *Tagēticus*, the personal name *Tagēs -ētis* takes its place as an indigenous adaptation of the corresponding ethnic: 'the Tegean'.

Thus two separate traditions of the ancients, namely the one about Tegea in Etruria and that concerning the origin of the Tagetic books, appear to be merely two coherent fragments of one and the same tradition about a group which, like the migrants from Pallanteion, left Arcadia for Italy [14].

This Etruscan tradition and the Latin tradition about Evander share

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[11] Gen. Τάγητος Lyd. *ost.* 3 and 27 p. 62 Wachsmuth; dat. Τάγητι Lyd. *mens.* fragm. inc. 6.

[12] Gen. *Tagētis* Stat. *silu.* 5.2.1, Fulgent. *serm ant.* 4, *Tagae* Serv. *in Aen.* 1.2; acc. *Tagen* Ov. *met.* 15.558; abl. *Tage* Serv. *in Aen.* 2.781. Cf. e.g. in the same text, viz. Plautus' *Mostellaria*, Φιλολάχης -ητος > *Philolachēs*, gen. *Philolachētis* and perhaps *Philolachae* (-e cod.), dat. *Philolachēti* and *Philolachi*, acc. *Philolachem*.

[13] From the list of O. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi uocum Lat.*, Leipzig 1904, p. 477, it appears that there is only one exception: *laeticus* (cod. Theod., 438 A.D.) derived from *laetus* 'a foreign bondman' of Germanic provenance.

[14] No evidence for the Arcadian origin of Tages can be drawn from a magic practice the Etruscans attributed to him: Col. 10.344-345 *caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur*

several features which are by no means commonplace and which have little
weight individually but can hardly be dismissed as a whole. In both cases,
the newcomers are explicitly said to be exiles. Those bound for Latium leave
Pallanteion under the lead of Evander; those bound for Etruria come from
Tegea, the town of Evander's father. Thus they all depart from the same
tiny district of southern Arcadia: Pallanteion is less than 10 km. from Tegea
as the crow flies [15]. Therefore, both groups could be part of the same
expedition or two waves of the same migratory process. In both cases, a clear
memory survived in Central Italy of the superior culture of the Arcadians.
In Etruria as well as in Latium, their doctrines are imparted in verse form
by an outstanding person who is also endowed with prophetic faculties, and
whose real name is obliterated by a local epithet: *Tages* 'the man from Tegea'
among the Etruscans, *Carmentis* 'the oracle' among the Latins. In both
regions, these Arcadians are remembered notably for the 'wonder of writing'
— which chronologically cannot be later than Linear B, and must have been
that writing system in both cases if the exiles from Tegea reach Etruria in the
same migratory process as that of Evander in the 13th century or at least after
c. 1450 B.C. (cf. § 13).

Under the veil of fabulous details that even many ancients dismissed [16],
the Tagetic tradition reveals itself more coherent, internally and externally,
and more plausible than has been so far credited. Perhaps archaeology will
eventually provide some proof of a Mycenaean presence in early Etruria.

In the meantime, Lydus' passage has been recalled to explain the origin
of the Etruscan syllabic punctuation [17].

The possible connection of the Tagetic doctrine with an Arcadian set-
tlement in Etruria might now seem to strengthen the assumption that such

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aselli | Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris 'Tages the Etruscan is said to have set up
the skinless head of an Arcadian ass on a pole at the field's edge'. All we know is that
the ancient Latins (*antiqui*) prized Arcadian asses, so called from their country of origin
and noted for their qualities (Isid. *orig.* 12.1.40, Varr. *agr.* 2.1.14 [= Plin. *n.h.* 8.167],
2.8.3). Neither cultural nor linguistic evidence is available to date back this practice to
Arcadian settlers in early Etruria.

[15] See e.g. the map of W. Loring, *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, XV, 1895, pl. I.

[16] Cic. *diu.* 2.51 *estne quisquam ita desipiens, qui credat exaratum esse deum dicam
an hominem?* 'is there anyone so stupid to believe that — which shall I say — a god or
a man was ploughed up?' etc.

[17] Recognized by E. Vetter, *Glotta*, XXIV, 1936, p. 114-133, and XXVII, 1939,
p. 157-178, further investigated by F. Slotty, *Beitrage zur Etruskologie, I. Silbenpunktie-
rung und Silbenbildung im Altetruskischen*, Heidelberg 1952; studies on this punctuation
we shall also refer to here: A.J. Pfiffig, *Kadmos*, II, 1963, p. 142-149 (= *Die etr. Sprache*,
Graz 1969, p. 23-27), M. Lejeune, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, LXXX, 1967, p. 40-59,
H. Rix, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwiss.*, XXIII, 1968, p. 85-104.

a punctuation is related to Aegean writings — or conversely, such an alleged relationship might seem to strengthen the case for a Mycenaean migration into Etruria. Therefore, since the current views about the origin of Etruscan syllabic punctuation run contrary to established facts, it will not be out of place to reconsider the problem briefly.

Inscriptions of southern Etruria and Etruscan Campania from the end of the 7th until the 4th cent. B.C., apart from the use of one or more dots to divide words, show at times a system of punctuation within the individual words themselves. This system seems attributable to scribes of the priestly class in southern Etruria.

This queer punctuation marks (with some exceptions or hesitations):

1. the final consonants of closed syllables (i.e. syllables ending in one or more consonants): *tar·* /tar/, *hal·χ·* /halχ/;

2. (a) the syllabic vowels (i.e. single vowels forming a syllable): *a·ra* /a-ra/, *i·tan·* /i-tan/; and thus (b) the second vowel of a sequence of two vowels (in most cases evidently diphthongs, whether rising or falling), which are regarded as forming two syllables: *tei·* /te-i/, *a·crii·na* /a-cri-i-na/ [18].

The sounds /y/ and /w/ followed by a vowel are dealt with as consonants: *tinian·* /ti-nyan/, *travaiuser·* /tra-wa-yu-ser/, *lunaśie* /lu-na-śye/, *tar·tiria* /tar-ti-rya/ (cf. the spelling *tar·tiriia·* /tar-ti-ri-ya-i/), etc.

The same type of syllabic punctuation occurs in the Venetic script, which presumably originated from a southern Etruscan alphabet in the very period when such a convention was followed, and also in some Oscan vessel inscriptions of Campania.

Slotty ascribed this punctuation to Etruscan grammarians who would have developed a theory of the syllable worthy of refined phoneticians — a theory, as Lejeune says, 'that could be signed by Jespersen or Grammont, and this as early as the 6th century, before grammatical speculation, as far as we know, awoke in the Greek world'. Moreover, Pfiffig objects that such a system is too complicated for general use, viz. outside a highly educated class of scribes, but nevertheless notes that apart from the religious text of the Capua tile it occurs only on vessels and is not used for 'major epigraphy' on stone monuments — in other words, it is also intended for lay and informal documents.

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[18] Initial *i* is not marked on the Capua tile and in the vessel inscriptions from Campania (e.g. *iluc·ve* /i-luc-ve/) for the practical reason expounded by Slotty, *Beiträge* cit., p. 87: in texts whose words are not written separately, as the second vowel of the sequences *ai ei ui* must be punctuated, after a word ending in a vowel the punctuation of *i* at the beginning of the following word would have led to joining this initial *i* with the preceding vowel; for instance, the two words /tule ilucve/, if spelled *tulei·luc·ve*, would have been misread /tulei lucve/.

Vetter explained this punctuation as a habit based on the principle of the open syllable of the type consonant + vowel, and thus as the offspring of an earlier syllabic writing of which neither text nor recollection has survived. He surmised that before adopting the Greek alphabet the Etruscans already wrote in a syllabic script not created for their tongue, so that they devised a punctuation system to make its reading easier.

This view has gained wide acceptance. Usually, the Linear B and Cypriot writings are cited, though Lejeune has reconstructed the features that should be attributed to the vanished Etruscan syllabic script and shown that they agree neither with the Mycenaean nor with the Cypriot syllabaries. For instance, Etruscan punctuates consonants that Linear B would omit and Cypriot would express by means of an open syllable. To construct a fictitious case by way of example, a word like μισθόν, which would read in Linear B as *mi-to* and appears in Cypriot as *mi-si-to-ne*, would have been written by Etruscans as *mis·θon·* — that is to say, they would originally have marked the signs *si* and *ne* of their indigenous syllabary to show that in the spelling *mi-si-to-ne* those two signs represented the consonant only, and then would have transferred such a habit into the alphabetic spelling (*mis·θon·*). Thus, the Etruscan syllabic script would have gone a step farther than Linear B and Cypriot on the way towards isolating and writing the single consonant — by means of dots playing the same rôle as the *virāma*, a stroke which in the deva-nāgarī script of India marks a syllabic sign when the consonant is to be pronounced without the following vowel [19].

Pfiffig adds that in the Etruscan alphabet (whose letter names are not known) each letter had a name consisting of a consonant plus a vowel, e.g. *ka*, *pe*, etc., so that simple consonants could be used for the syllable involved, namely *k* for *ka*, *p* for *pe*, etc. ('a confusion depending on a very strong habit!', he remarks, referring to the surmised syllabic writing of the Etruscans), e.g. *mnrva* = *menrva*, *tlamun* = Τελαμών, etc. [20].

Pfiffig admits that 'there is no direct evidence that the Etruscans had used a syllabic script before and beside the Phoenician-Greek alphabet, and the hope for finds in this script are faint'. He maintains, however, that there are indirect proofs, and the main one should be that pre-Evandrian writing mentioned by Lydus (quoted p. 137 f.), which he holds to belong to the family of Linear B.

The Etruscan syllabaries that appear on some objects like the 7th-century

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[19] Pfiffig, *art. cit.*, p. 143 note 5, recalls what would appear to be a like device in the pictorial script of the Phaistos disk, but the dash which should reduce the syllable to a consonant occurs only in final position.

[20] Cf. M. Lejeune, *art. cit.*, p. 50 ff., also for Hammarström's views on the names of the letters as a heritage of a syllabic script.

lekythos of the Tomba Regolini Galassi (which bears lines like *ci ca cu ce vi va vu ve*, etc.) could be taken to be further indirect evidence. These syllabaries, however, only go to show the interest aroused by the recent introduction of the alphabet. Though having a decorative function, they are 'exercises in syllabication', as Lejeune defined them (or rather, even more than that, a token of the wonder of an illiterate environment for the miracle of writing).

It did not escape the scholars' attention that the oldest Etruscan inscriptions do not yet show syllabic punctuation. This appears quite a time after the adoption of the alphabet.

'The Etruscan syllabic punctuation is a novelty in an already established practice of alphabetic writing. As a matter of fact, independently of the chronology of its attestations, this is shown with sufficient clearness by two facts: (1) the circumstance that the syllabic punctuation was used in an area much smaller than that of the Etruscan alphabet, and (2) its absence in the Greek model alphabet' [21] widely represented in Etruria.

To explain this contradiction, some infer that syllabic and alphabetic writing must have co-existed (for they must have served different purposes) and that the former exerted its influence on the latter only at a later stage, when the alphabet had already spread into common use. Though there is not the slightest evidence, Pfiffig surmises that the same scribes practised both systems and that the syllabic script was used only for administrative purposes, i.e. for documents with temporary validity and on perishable materials which thus will never be found (he does not rule out even clay tablets), and not for monumental inscriptions or other texts intended to last. Lejeune would rather suppose that the Proto-Etruscans used a syllabary that survived as a secret script (a well-kept secret indeed) for religious purposes, viz. for the ritual texts reserved to the initiated, after the introduction of the alphabet. The reading of sacred texts, however, would have proved more and more difficult to people accustomed to the alphabet. Therefore, in order to make it easier, grammarians would have stepped in, some time between 700 and 550 B.C., and added the punctuation (which would also have led to theoretical speculations on the structure of the syllable). Thereafter, c. 550 B.C., the secret was disclosed: the rituals would have been 'vulgarized', i.e. transposed into alphabetic writing, but in so doing the scribes would have kept the syllabic punctuation [22].

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[21] H. Rix, *art. cit.*, p. 88.

[22] Less chequered but equally fanciful is Rix's assumption (*art. cit.*, p. 91 ff.) that an Etruscan teacher conversant with Phoenician Punic, or a Punic experienced in Etruscan, had applied to the Greek alphabet already used in southern Etruria a punctuation which does not exist in Phoenician.

Explanations of such a description rest on no evidence and prove nothing. They are a makeshift designed simply to close, no matter how, the immense chronological gap that separates Linear B and Etruscan syllabic punctuation, and to explain the appearance of the latter quite a time after the adoption and spread of the alphabet in Etruria. Nor can one maintain that the authors of the punctuation considered the syllable to be the smallest basic unit of their language. The very fact that they did master the alphabet indicates that they had gone beyond the syllabic stage and that their basic unit was already the single letter, viz. the phoneme.

No doubt the Etruscan punctuation implies the existence of a syllabic principle, but this cannot be anachronistically that of the Mycenaean script or another Aegean system.

As the grammarian Valerius Probus (1st cent. A.D.) recalls, 'among the ancients, as shorthand was not used, to overcome a difficulty in writing, especially those appointed to take minutes in the senate, in order to grasp words quickly, noted by general convention some verbs and nouns with the initial letters and it was clear what the individual letters stood for — a usage still continued now in writing personal names, public and pontifical documents, civil law books' [23]. It is obvious that such abbreviations consisted not only of single letters but also of initial letter-groups. And in fact, Festus explains: *pa pro parte, et po pro potissimum positum est in saliari carmine* 'pa stands for *parte* and *po* for *potissimum* in the Salian song' [24].

In Rome, religious documents of venerable antiquity must have resorted to brachygraphic spellings at a very early date, and not for the sake of speedy writing but with the aim of condensing a text in the limited space of a writing-tablet which the Salian or Arval priest could hold in his hand while performing the sacred dance — so that I have wondered whether the earliest uses of brachygraphy at Rome developed for this very purpose in religious circles [25].

It is inevitable that beside initial letters and letter-groups other brachygraphic conventions were observed, and actually we do have evidence among the 'ancients' of abbreviations based simply on a syllabic value of the single

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[23] Prob., *GLK*, IV, p. 271.4-9 *apud ueteres cum usus notarum nullus esset, propter scribendi difficultatem, maxime in senatu qui scribendo aderant, ut celeriter dicta comprehenderent, quaedam uerba atque nomina ex communi consensu primis litteris notabant et singulae litterae quid significarent, in promptu erat. quod in praenominibus legibus publicis pontificumque monumentis et in iuris ciuilis libris etiamnunc manet.*

[24] Fest. p. 222.22-23. Editors unnecessarily emend *patre* with a view to altering and interpreting a Salian quotation in Varr. *l. Lat.* 7.27; *pro* with the accusative is late and its occurrence here with both the abl. *parte* and the acc. *potissimum* suggests a reference to Salian passages where *pa* and *po* were actually to be read *parte* and respectively *potissimum*.

[25] *Aspetti*, p. 162 note 3.

letter. Terentius Scaurus, a grammarian of the 2nd cent. A.D., recalls: 'some deemed the letter *k* to be superfluous, since *c* could adequately serve in its place. It was kept, however, according to some, for it expressed certain abbreviations, as *Kaeso, kaput, kalumnia, kalendae*. The ancients, however, used this letter in a syllabic chain only when the letter *a* was to follow, for among the many possible vowels, each time a word had to be written in which letters could retain their name, individual letters were written instead of the syllable just as if this would be adequately expressed by their very name, as for instance *decimus* by *d* alone followed by *cimus*, and likewise *cera* by a simple *c* and *ra*, and *bene* by *b* and *ne*. And therefore, whenever *kanus* and *karus* had to be written, the initial syllables being noted by single letters, one put at the beginning *k*, for *a* was implied in its name, since the use of *c* would have spelled *cenus* and *cerus*, not *canus* and *carus* '[26].

For clarity's sake, Terentius Scaurus quotes examples where this occurs at the beginning of a word, but does not affirm that such a convention was restricted to initial syllables — indeed, he says that it was applied 'in a syllabic chain', namely in any position. On the basis of this text, Lindsay remarked nearly a century ago 'that spellings on early inscriptions like LVBS for *lubē(n)s* on a Marso-Latin inscription [*CIL*, I²2,388], may not be really evidences of syncopated pronunciation, but rather traces of an old custom of syllable writing. The syllabaries found on Etruscan inscriptions ... as well as the use of a dot (like the Sanscrit virama), to indicate those consonants which are not followed by a vowel, in the inscriptions of the Veneti ... are perhaps other indications that syllabic writing prevailed at an early period in the Italian peninsula'. He noticed the many omissions of vowels in Praenestine inscriptions like *dcumius* (*CIL*, I²2,1445) for *Decumius* and *diesptr* (I²2,564) for *Diēspiter*, and stressed that Terentius Scaurus' example *dcimus* for *decimus* 'is almost exactly our first example of the Praenestine contraction' and that such spellings 'are indications of a syllabic system of writing in partial use in this region of Italy'[27].

Certainly, in some such cases the writing of a letter for the syllable cor-

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[26] Ter. Scaur., *GLK*, VII, p. 14.12/15.7 *k quidam superuacuam esse litteram iudicauerunt, quoniam uice illius fungi satis c posset. sed retenta est, ut quidam putant, quoniam notas quasdam significaret, ut Kaesonem et kaput et kalumniam et kalendas. hac tamen antiqui in conexione syllabarum ibi tantum utebantur, ubi a littera subiungenda erat, quoniam multis uocalibus instantibus, quotiens id uerbum scribendum erat, in quo retinere hae litterae nomen suum possent, singulae pro syllaba scribebantur, tamquam satis eam ipso nomine explerent, ut puta decimus, d per se deinde cimus, item cera, c simplex et ra, et bene, b et ne. ita et quotiens kanus et karus scribendum erat, quia singulis litteris primae syllabae notabantur, k prima ponebatur, quae suo nomine a continebat, quia, si c posuissent, cenus et cerus futurum erat, non canus et carus.*

[27] W.M. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* cit., p. 12 and 177.

responding to its name may also be the blunder of a scribe not quite conversant with the alphabet [28]. Terentius Scaurus, however, recalls it as the principle of a systematic practice of brachygraphy among the ancients. Therefore, we are entitled to ask this question: in an environment where, according to that principle, one spelled *kdo* for *cado*, *cdo* for *cedo* and *qdo* for *cudo*, how could one write a sequence of words like *ac do* 'and I give'? No doubt *akdo* would have been read *accado*, *acdo* would have rendered *accedo* and *aqdo* would have given *accudo*, so that some device was needed to mark that the consonant had no syllabic value. In the Etruscan conventions, dots would have been used: *a·c·do*.

It is clear from traces in epigraphic and literary sources that once the alphabet became common practice some forms of brachygraphy arose among various peoples of Italy. We cannot say anything about their origins, how they spread and their possible interrelations (as well as the significance they might have had for the subsequent creation of shorthand conventions), but we know from Terentius Scaurus that a Roman system was based, to some extent, on the syllabic value of the individual letters according to their own name. The Etruscan punctuation was also based on a convention of that kind (which is actually attested in spellings like *mnrva* quoted on p. 144), though its extent suggests that it was not restricted to the specific vowel of the letter name.

This explains why the Etruscan punctuation appears sporadically and some time after the adoption of the alphabet, for brachygraphy arises at an advanced stage in the use of alphabetic writing and is limited to definite circles and purposes. It does not appear in 'major epigraphy' on stone monuments for it is essentially linked with the practice of handwriting in priestly circles — which could have been the case also in Rome and among the Veneti. All this is also in perfect agreement with remarks made by Rix: 'No doubt the Etruscan punctuation, as any change in a graphematic system, implies phonetic speculation ... It is equally certain, however, that the punctuation has not been brought about by speculations on Etruscan phonetics; in any event, thus far, no phonetic principle has been found (and none can be imagined) by which all punctuation rules could be explained ... The incentive for the punctuation must then be connected somehow with the script; nowadays, after the unanimous rebuttal of Slotty's explanation, this is generally admitted. However, the incentive we are looking for cannot lie in the Etruscan script known only from monuments, which is an alphabet taken from the Greeks. One will then be entitled to hold that the Etruscan syllabic

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[28] The *qoi* of the Duenos inscription (*CIL* I² 2, 4) as against *quoi* on the Forum cippus (I² 2, 1) may stand on a par with *esqelino* 'Esquilino' of the inscription *CIL* I² 2, 416.

punctuation presupposes the influence of another and different writing system. This system was evidently based not on the phoneme but on the syllable; indeed, to formulate the Etruscan rules as simply as possible, it punctuated what did not fit the pattern of a "normal syllable" formed by consonant (+consonant)+vowel' [29].

No wonder all attempts at finding this system outside Etruscan have failed. The same scholar, though advocating a Phoenician origin, could not help noting that 'actually, up to now, a writing practice corresponding to the Etruscan syllabic punctuation is known neither in contemporary documents in Phoenician script nor in Aegean texts' [30]. In fact, this system different from that of alphabetic writing was a product of Etruscan alphabetic literacy.

The functional difference between this punctuation and devices like the *virāma* is evident: the *virāma* cancels a vowel inherent in the syllabic sign, the dots prevent the conventional addition of a vowel to a single consonant — but they also mark open syllables consisting of a single vowel.

The so-called syllabic punctuation of the Etruscans is not the relic of syllabic-writing habits in an environment which had just gone one step further than that stage, but the development of well-mastered alphabetic practices. If it was based on one principle only, it must be assumed that the dots, in the brachygraphy they were applied to, prevented the addition of something to an alphabetic sign; therefore, (1) the single consonant must have stood for a syllable consisting of that consonant followed by a vowel (and presumably any vowel), and (2) the single vowel must have stood for a syllable (e.g. *i* for *ia* etc.) and presumably also for common prefixes and endings — a feature which would not appear in the longhand texts we have. However, conventions of various types cannot be ruled out and the reconstruction of an unprovable system would be as rash as the hypothesis of a mythical pre-Evandrian syllabary.

It hardly needs stressing that Terentius Scaurus did not intend to expound a Latin system of conventions for abbreviated writing but only quoted one of them with reference to the specific problem of the letter *k*. Nevertheless, his piece of evidence (which is thoroughly confirmed by epigraphy) is sufficient to show that the syllabic principle that informs such brachygraphies is an outgrowth of the alphabet — and to dispense with the assumption of an unknown secret script of the Etruscan clergy dating back to Aegean syllabaries.

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[29] H. Rix, *art. cit.*, p. 89.
[30] H. Rix, *art. cit.*, p. 86.

APPENDIX II

MYCENAEAN IMPORTS IN CENTRAL ITALY

by Lucia Vagnetti

Some pottery sherds and bronze pieces of Mycenaean and Cypriote manufacture have been found in Central Italy. They are extremely fragmentary and difficult to classify and date [1].

A catalogue of sites where these objects came to light is given below. The numeration refers also to the distribution map (p. 167 Fig. 11).

(1). *San Giovenale*

Near Blera in the province of Viterbo, 25 kms inland from the Tyrrhenian coast; excavation by the Swedish Institute in Rome since 1956.

The site has several traces of Bronze Age occupation under an extensive Etruscan settlement.

One Mycenaean sherd has been dated to the end of the Mycenaean III B [2]. It is painted with a simple spiral, not clearly datable in itself. A date in the III C period seems more likely in view of the provincial fabric of the sherd and of its association with Protovillanovan material (Pl. I.6).

(2). *Luni sul Mignone*

In the province of Viterbo, 6 kms west of San Giovenale; excavations

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[1] Furumark's classification and chronology of Mycenaean pottery are adopted here with some adjustment in absolute dating (A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery. Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm 1941; Id., *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941).

The main partitions and dates are reported at the end of this appendix (p. 165) for the benefit of the non-specialized reader.

[2] B. Malcus, "Un frammento miceneo da San Giovenale", *Dial. Arch.*, n.s. 1, 1979, 74-77.

by the Swedish Institute in Rome since 1960 [3].

The excavations have uncovered several places of interest. The most important one, the so-called acropolis, revealed a continuous habitation from the Middle to the Final Bronze Age.

Five Mycenaean sherds are among the most important finds. They have been discussed in detail by Östenberg and examined by Furumark. One of these sherds is cautiously dated to Mycenaean III A 2 - III B; the others are attributed respectively two to Mycenaean III B and two to Mycenaean III C. The proposed chronology seems acceptable in a general way, although sherds such as Östenberg no. 2, decorated by simple bands, would be undatable even in a real Mycenaean context (Fig. 10 and Pl. I.1-5).

(3). *Monte Rovello*

In the Monti della Tolfa area, roughly 15 kms inland from Civitavecchia; excavation by O. Toti from 1963 to 1970 [4].

There are remains of a settlement inhabited from the Late Bronze Age to the Etruscan period.

A wheel-made sherd of depurated clay with traces of painting on the surface is reported from the habitation debris of a dwelling, which is datable to the Late Bronze Age.

The sherd is very small and badly preserved, its surface being corroded. The faint traces of painting might perhaps represent a net pattern. It has been classified as Submycenaean (11th century B.C.); however, one must point out that the net pattern (Furumark motif 57/2) is known along the whole Mycenaean III period but does not seem to last until the very end of it.

(4-4a). *Piediluco-Contigliano*

Piediluco is a village in Southern Umbria, some 15 kms east of Terni. Contigliano lies some 20 kms south of Piediluco in the province of Rieti.

A very important hoard of bronzes was found in 1869 in Piediluco [5]. It includes a fragment of a bronze tripod of Cypriote manufacture, possibly datable to sometime between the 12th and the first half of the 11th century B.C. A second fragment of a tripod, typologically identical with the first

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[3] C. E. Östenberg, *Luni sul Mignone e problemi della preistoria d'Italia*, Lund 1967. For a different interpretation of the stratigraphy: R. Peroni, *Atti I Simposio Protostoria d'Italia*, Orvieto 1967, 167-173; M. A. Fugazzola Delpino, *Testimonianze di cultura appenninica nel Lazio*, Firenze 1976, 224-231.

[4] F. Biancofiore - O. Toti, *Monte Rovello. Testimonianze dei Micenei nel Lazio*, Roma 1973.

[5] H. R. M. Leopold, *Bull. Pal. It.*, n.s. 3, 1939, 143-164; H. Müller-Karpe, *Vom Anfang Roms*, Heidelberg 1959, pl. 29,4.

one, is included in a hoard allegedly found at Contigliano, but probably coming from Piediluco as well (Pl. XII) [6]. In the so-called Contigliano hoard there are also two other fragmentary bronze objects that can be considered imports from the Aegean [7]: 1) a four-spoked wheel, probably part of a wheeled stand, of a type very common on Cyprus and datable to the same
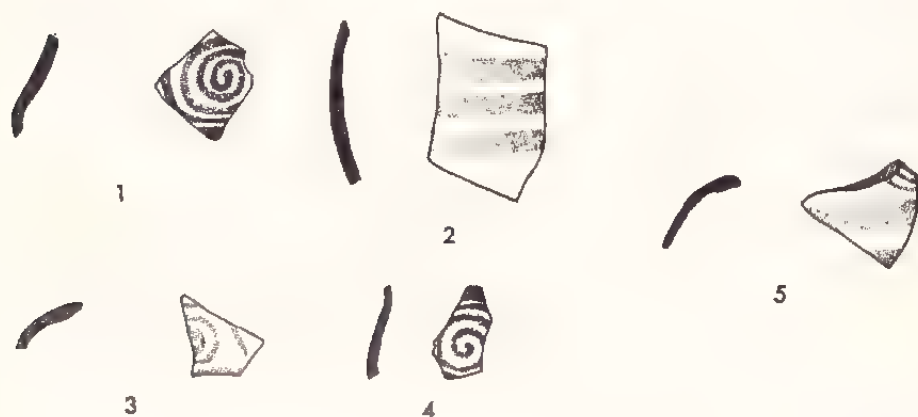
Fig. 10. Mycenaean sherds from Luni sul Mignone (cf. Pl. I.1-5).

period as the tripod; 2) a fragment of a cauldron with a circular handle, which belongs to a type well known on Crete and in Mainland Greece from the 14th to the 12th century. Another fragment of a tripod, now in the Danish National Museum, was bought at Piediluco and is still unpublished [8].

The different dates (and perhaps origins) of the imported bronzes are remarkable. Moreover the date of the other objects of both the hoards is not earlier than the 10th century B.C. This consideration and the general appearance of the hoards, mostly composed of scraps, and, therefore, possibly belonging to a founder, show clearly that the objects could have been

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[6] L. Ponzi Bonomi, *Bull. Pal. It.*, 79, 1970, 95-154.

[7] L. Vagnetti, "Appunti sui bronzi egei e ciprioti del ripostiglio di Contigliano", *Mél. Ec. Franç. Rome*, 86, 1974, 657-671.

[8] Ponzi Bonomi, cit. in note 6, 97.

used and broken somewhere else [9]. In the case of the imported bronzes they could have arrived in some middle Tyrrhenian coastal site in the Late and/or Final Bronze Age.

Apart from the objects mentioned above, some sherds found in the Sant'Omobono area in Rome have been considered possibly Mycenaean. They seem to be later on a closer examination [10].

The few documents mentioned above cannot be appreciated without being related to the general framework of the Mycenaean imports in Italy [11].

A glance at an up-to-date distribution map (Fig. 11) of the imports shows some regional groupings: Apulia, Sicily, the Aeolian Islands, Campania, Latium and Sardinia are more or less thickly pin-pointed, and a few other isolated spots are located in Calabria, along the Adriatic coast and in Northern Italy. These areas, however, show a different pattern of distribution as far as the number of imports and their chronology are concerned and need a comparative discussion.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MYCENAEAN IMPORTS

The most ancient imports from the Aegean date back to the end of the Middle Helladic period; they are few and very fragmentary. Some sherds from Porto Perone and from Lipari and Filicudi in the Aeolian Islands seem to be earlier than the very beginning of the Mycenaean age.

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[9] The circulation of scraps of metal for remelting is not uncommon in the late 2nd millennium B.C. as the cargo of the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck shows very clearly. G. Bass, *Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age Shipwreck*, Philadelphia 1967, 52-121.

[10] G. Ioppolo, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, 44, 1971-72, 17 note 19. The sherds were found in a layer above the destruction of the archaic temple. This layer is a filling, possibly formed with the earth carried from the slopes of the Capitol; it contains material datable from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the 6th century B.C. Most of the painted sherds, when the details of their shapes and decoration make it possible to classify them, are Geometric (E. La Rocca, *Dial. Arch.*, 8, 1974-75, 90 ff.). I have been able to examine them through the kindness of Dr. La Rocca.

[11] The present discussion does not have the character of a complete list of find-spots. A list can be deduced from the distribution map on p. 167 of this appendix. From the rich bibliography I quote only the still fundamental W. Taylour, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas*, Cambridge 1958, and some recent summaries where detailed references can be found: *I Micenei in Italia*, Fasano 1967; L. Vagnetti, "I Micenei in Italia: la documentazione archeologica", *Par. Pass.*, 25, 1970, 359-380; H. G. Buchholz-V. Karageorghis, "Ägäische Funde und Kultureinflüsse in den Randgebieten des Mittelmeers. Forschungen über Ausgrabungen und Neufunde 1960-1970", *Arch. Anz.*, 1974, 325-462; M. Marazzi-S. Tusa, "Interrelazioni dei centri siciliani e peninsulari durante la penetrazione micenea", *Sicilia Archeologica*, 9, 1976. 49-90.

Sherds painted with patterns of the earliest Mycenaean phases (Mycenaean I-II) are represented in the Aeolian Islands, with a noteworthy incidence in Lipari, Salina and Filicudi. The northernmost documents of early Mycenaean trade with the Tyrrhenian coast have been found at Vivara, one of the islands in front of the gulf of Naples.

Some sherds found in Apulia have been dated to Mycenaean I. However, most of them are not very characteristic in shape and decoration and their chronology cannot be defined precisely.

Imports from the Aegean increase considerably during Mycenaean III A - III B when Mycenaean pottery reaches several sites in Apulia (both on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts), is very well represented in Sicily and in the Aeolian Islands, and appears on Ischia and Vivara.

From the beginning of the Mycenaean III B we can notice a decrease of imports in Sicily and in the Aeolian Islands. Sherds datable to this period are represented in the Phlegraean Islands and at Luni sul Mignone in Latium.

The pattern of distribution of Mycenaean imports varies considerably after the end of Mycenaean III B. During Mycenaean III C the connections between the Mycenaean world and Italy are limited to Apulia almost exclusively. In other regions imports are fewer, more sparsely distributed and differentiated in quality. Imported metal objects appear, and there is a noteworthy interrelation in metallurgical practice between Italy and the Aegean [12].

THE REGIONAL CHARACTERIZATION OF MYCENAEAN IMPORTS

Aeolian Islands

Bernabò Brea's excavations on many islands of the archipelago provide a valuable cultural sequence, which is also of great importance in order to understand several aspects of Italian prehistory [13]. The Aeolian villages were already in contact with the Mycenaeans during the local Early Bronze Age, called Capo Graziano culture, as the remarkable amount of imported sherds from the end of Middle Helladic to the early Mycenaean III A phase shows.

[12] A. M. Bietti Sestieri, «The Metal Industry of Continental Italy (13th-11th century) and its Aegean Connections», *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 39, 1973, 383-424.

[13] L. Bernabò Brea-M. Cavalier, «Civiltà preistoriche delle Isole Eolie e del territorio di Milazzo», *Bull. Pal. It.*, 65, 1956, 7-98; L. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily before the Greeks*, London 1957; L. Bernabò Brea-M. Cavalier, *Meligunìs-Lipára*, I, III, Palermo 1960, 1968; L. Bernabò Brea, «Eolie, Sicilia e Malta nell'età del bronzo», *Kokalos*, 22-23, 1976-77, 33-110. A more detailed bibliographical list in L. Bernabò Brea-M. Cavalier, *Il Castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano*, Palermo 1977², 179-199. On the imported Mycenaean pottery Taylour, *Myc. Pott.*, cit. in note 11, 9-53.

These contacts, however, reached their peak during the local Middle Bronze Age, characterized by the Milazzese culture. During this phase all the Aeolian settlements seem to have enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity, entertaining trade relations not only with the Aegean but also with Apennine Italy.

A great number of Mycenaean sherds of the III A and III B phases, a Mycenaean figurine and some luxury objects, such as necklaces and amber, give an idea of the importance of these islands. Contacts with the Aegean probably stimulated the adoption of a graphic system of potter's marks, often found on local ware. These marks do certainly present similarities with Aegean Linear scripts, although we have no proof that they developed into real writing [14].

The naturally fortified Aeolian settlements of the Milazzese culture were destroyed completely before the end of the Mycenaean III B, around the middle of the 13th century B.C. They were not rebuilt except for the settlement on the Castello of Lipari where people coming from the Italian peninsula settled and introduced a culture that seems to be an offshoot of the Apennine culture. This culture, labelled Ausonian by the excavator, is divided into two periods, and there is evidence for surviving contacts with the Aegean world through imported sherds dating from the end of Mycenaean III B and III C [15].

The Aeolian Islands during the Bronze Age present the general characteristics of an important trading station with manifold overseas contacts. In fact, the archipelago was an important pole along the Tyrrhenian trade route, which had been in use from the Early Bronze Age, connecting Southern and Central Italy [16].

In the beginning the Aeolians certainly sold their main production, i.e. obsidian; after the decline in use of this material they probably continued in their role of traders, acting perhaps as middlemen along the sea route [17].

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[14] L. Bernabò Brea, "Segni grafici e contrassegni sulle ceramiche dell'età del bronzo delle isole Eolie", *Minos*, 2, 1952, 5-28.

[15] The name Ausonian was coined by Bernabò Brea on the basis of an impressing coincidence of legendary and archaeological sources. In fact, a tradition reported by Diodorus of Sicily (V, 7, 5) says that Liparos, son of Auson, king of a part of Campania, fled from his country to the island that was called Lipari after him. Then, the name Ausonian for the Late Bronze Age culture of the Aeolian Islands with its specific mainland aspect, seems very apt. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily*, cit. in note 13, 137-139.

[16] On the relations among the Aeolian Islands, Campania, Latium and North-Eastern Italy since the Early Bronze Age see Fugazzola Delpino, *Testimonianze*, cit. in note 3, 271-275.

[17] R. Hallam-S. E. Warren-C. Renfrew, "Obsidian in the Western Mediterranean: Characterisation by Neutron Activation Analysis and Optical Emission Spectroscopy", *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 42, 1976, 85-110. Trade in Lipari obsidian, which was particularly flourishing during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, does not involve the Eastern

European tin, Baltic amber and perhaps their own alum and that coming from the Tolfa-Allumiere district, could have been the object of such a trade [18].

As far as the possible existence of a Mycenaean settlement on the islands is concerned the archaeological evidence does not favour this hypothesis. The only thing one can imagine is that a small group of people resided there permanently, roughly in the 14th and the first half of the 13th century, in order to manage the various aspects of the trade.

Sicily

The situation in Sicily is in some way similar to that observed on the Aeolian Islands. No certain Mycenaean imports are known so far in the local Early Bronze Age characterized by the Castelluccio culture. This culture is followed in large part of the island by the Middle Bronze Age Thapsos culture, which is linked in several respects with the Aeolian Milazzese culture [19].

Until a few years ago our knowledge of Middle Bronze Age Sicily was based almost exclusively on material from cemeteries, usually consisting of rock-cut "grotticella" tombs used for several burials over a considerable span of time. In Thapsos and in many other contemporary cemeteries in the province of Syracuse several Mycenaean imported vases and other luxury goods were discovered. Glass beads and ivory combs may have been imported, while sword types seem to be indebted to Aegean prototypes [20].

A few finds from the region of Agrigento, among which are four bronze basins from Caldare and Milena that may be attributed to Cypriote manufacture, are the westernmost Aegean imports in Sicily at the moment [21].

Mediterranean. However, obsidian trade was important also in the later development of exchanges between East and West, as the long-lived role of the Aeolian Islands as a trading station in contacts with peninsular Italy most likely has its roots in that phenomenon.

[18] The Greek στρυπτερία (alum) has been recognized in the form *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* recorded on a Mycenaean tablet from Pylos; see G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Achei nell'Etruria e nel Lazio?", *Par. Pass.*, 17, 1962, 5-25 (= *Scritti sul mondo antico*, Napoli 1976, 262-286). For classical sources referring to alum see *RE*, I, 1, s.v. *Alaun*.

[19] Bernabò Brea, *Sicily*, cit. in note 13, 109 ff.; the supposed Middle Helladic cup from Monte Sallia (Taylour, *Myc. Pott.*, cit. in note 11, 54-56, pl. 16, 1a-b) belongs to a regional variety of the Castelluccio pottery; see recently Bernabò Brea, "Eolie", cit. in note 13, 52-53.

[20] Taylour, *Myc. Pott.*, cit. in note 11, 56-79; N. K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 65, 1961, 26-27.

[21] L. Vagnetti, "I bacili di bronzo di Caldare sono ciprioti?", *Studi Mic. Egeo-Anat.*, 7, 1968, 129-140; V. La Rosa, "Sopralluoghi e ricerche attorno a Milena nella media valle del Platani", *Cronache di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (forthcoming).

The Mycenaean imports in Sicily are mostly of Mycenaean III A date with a few examples of Mycenaean III B showing again that the climax of Mycenaean trade with the central Mediterranean covers the 14th and part of the 13th century B.C.

Recent investigations on the site of Thapsos have given important new results both for the knowledge of local culture and for the study of Mycenaean presence in this area [22]. The new finds from the necropolis confirm on one hand the chronology of the imports already known (mainly Mycenaean III A 2) and, on the other hand, enlarge the typology of pottery shapes and fabrics. In fact, if one takes into consideration the already partially published finds from Tomb D, where the remains of almost 50 skeletons were found, one can count a remarkable number of Mycenaean vessels, a well-preserved dagger and three vessels of Cypriote manufacture (*White Shaved ware*) or imitated from Cypriote prototypes (*Base Ring ware*). A Maltese jug of the Borg-in Nadur culture is another import also found in Tomb D, which represents a further evidence of the long-lived trade between Malta and the eastern coast of Sicily.

However, the most surprising discovery is the settlement of Thapsos, which has now been investigated to a certain extent and shows completely new and unexpected features. The settlement has two different aspects: groups of roughly rectangular and circular huts recall in general the shape and aspects of the Middle Bronze Age Aeolian settlements, such as the village of Capo Milazzese on Panarea. These huts certainly belong to the Middle Bronze Age Thapsos culture because the pottery found on their floors is similar to that found in tombs together with Mycenaean pottery. Some of the circular huts, however, are connected with structures of a completely different type, rectangular in shape with several rooms and corridors and related to open-air paved areas. These structures seem to be somewhat later than the circular huts as in some cases they overlap the round buildings partially, although they do not obliterate them. They do not seem to date from too much later than the round structures as there are vessels belonging to a late period of the Thapsos culture among the material found in them.

The architectural features of the plan of the village give the idea of something certainly more organized than one could expect, reflecting perhaps a new local social pattern. This has been explained tentatively as an influence coming from the Aegean, together with the Mycenaean traders.

Life in Thapsos continued at least until the 10th-9th century (on the

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[22] G. Voza, *Atti XIV Riun. Scient. Ist. It. Preist. Prot.*, Firenze 1972, 175-205; Id., *Atti XV Riun. Scient. Ist. It. Preist. Prot.*, Firenze 1973, 133-157; Id., "Thapsos", *Archeologia della Sicilia Orientale*, Centre J. Bérard, Napoli 1973, 30-53, pls. 6-13.

basis of fibulae and pottery of that date) and its character as a trading station is still represented by imported pottery from Malta. This continuity of a coastal settlement from Middle to Final Bronze Age in Sicily is really something new, which affects current opinions on Sicilian cultures at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. very deeply. In fact, according to Bernabò Brea's reconstruction, the coastal settlements were abandoned at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and new settlements were built further inland, in mountain areas, where sites as Pantalica, Caltagirone, Monte Dessueri and many others are recorded. In these places a new culture developed, showing connections with the Aegean in many respects, although, at the moment, only one jug from the beginning of Mycenaean III C from Pantalica and a few sherds from Morgantina are known as imports [23].

In spite of the scarcity of imports from the Aegean several aspects of the Sicilian cultures at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. have been associated with a general "Mycenaean influence" which, according to some scholars, lasts well into the beginning of the 1st millennium and may be explained in the light of myths and legends, the most famous of which is the story of Minos' expedition to Kamikos in pursuit of Daedalus, who fled to Sicily to escape the king's revenge [24].

Campania

Three sherds of Mycenaean II-III A date from Ischia and two more of the same date from Vivara have been known for a long time. They are related to local Bronze Age Apennine culture and are consistent with current knowledge of Mycenaean trade towards the West [25].

Recent research on the small island of Vivara, possibly connected in

[23] Bernabò Brea, *Sicily*, cit. in note 13, 149 ff.; L. Vagnetti, "Un vaso miceneo da Pantalica", *Studi Mic. Egeo-Anat.*, 5, 1968, 132-135; E. S. Sjöqvist, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 64, 1960, 134, pl. 30, 39 a-b.

[24] G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Minos e Cocalos", *Kokalos*, 2, 1956, 89-103 (= *Scritti sul mondo antico*, Napoli 1976, 225-242). I do not want to discuss these problems in detail since they are beyond the aim of this Appendix which is devoted to the archaeological evidence. I only wish to stress that perhaps good results for a better understanding of the Sicilian cultures at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. could be obtained through a deeper study of their links with Near Eastern rather than Aegean cultures. One must not forget that the Phoenicians may have played a role in keeping the trade routes towards the western countries open. They may have inherited a certain connection with Sicily from the Cypriots who, as several imports show, had a share in the latest Mycenaean trade. Vagnetti, "I bacili", cit. in note 21. For later material see Ead., "Un anello del Museo Archeologico di Firenze e le oreficerie di Sant'Angelo Muxaro", *Studi Mic. Egeo-Anat.*, 15, 1972, 189-202.

[25] Taylour, *Myc. Pott.*, cit. in note 11, 7-9.

antiquity with the nearby island of Procida, shed new light on the relations of this area with the Aegean [26]. The island has been investigated in several places and abundant traces of prehistoric habitation dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Age have been found (Apennine culture). In spite of the small size of the trenches a great quantity of Mycenaean sherds has been discovered. The dates of the imports encompass a long period, from Mycenaean I-II to Mycenaean III B. Most interesting is the presence of painted pottery apparently of local manufacture [27].

The few other imports found in Campania are of much later date. Two unstratified sherds from Paestum, perhaps of Cypriote manufacture, could be dated to Mycenaean III C 1 and a sherd from the Polla cave in the Vallo di Diano belongs to a late phase of the same period [28]. These finds fit in well with the pattern of the latest Mycenaean trade with Italy, which is most completely documented in Apulia [29].

Apulia

The beginning of trade between this region and the Aegean dates back to the end of the Middle Helladic period as is attested by sherds from Porto Perone. Continuity is represented by a few Mycenaean I-II sherds from Porto Perone, Giovinazzo, Punta Le Terrare [30]. Mycenaean III A imports, which prevail in the Aeolian Islands and in Sicily, are concentrated in Apulia at Scoglio del Tonno (where also Mycenaean figurines were found) and to a lesser extent at Porto Cesareo and Punta Le Terrare [31]. Unfortunately the stratigraphy of Scoglio del Tonno is not preserved, and the material from the site must be studied for itself [32]. However, it seems clear that

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[26] M. Marazzi-S. Tusa, *Par. Pass.*, 31, 1976, 473-485; Idd. et al., *Par. Pass.*, 33, 1978, 197-237.

[27] *Par. Pass.*, 33, 1978, 227, fig. 14 b.

[28] Paestum: K. Kilian, *Röm. Mitt.*, 76, 1969, 346-47, fig. 6:69-70, pl. 109:4-5; Polla: B. D'Agostino, *Dial. Arch.*, 6, 1972, 5-11, figs. 3-4. A second sherd of the same date is mentioned by B. D'Agostino, *Atti XXI Riun. Scient. Ist. It. Preist. Prot.*, Firenze 1979, 481.

[29] L. Vagnetti, "Il bronzo finale in Puglia nei suoi rapporti con il Mediterraneo Orientale", *Atti XXI Riun. Scient. Ist. It. Preist. Prot.*, Firenze 1979, 537-549.

[30] Porto Perone: *Not. Sc.*, 1963, 329-334; Giovinazzo: *Bull. Pal. It.*, 76, 1967, 162; Punta Le Terrare: G. F. Lo Porto, *Ricerche e Studi del Museo G. Ridola*, Quaderno n. 3, Fasano 1967, 106 f.

[31] Scoglio del Tonno: Taylour, *Myc. Pott.*, cit. in note 11, 81-137; for more illustrations F. Biancofiore, *Civiltà micenea nell'Italia meridionale*, Roma 1967²; Punta Le Terrare: see note 30; Porto Cesareo: unpublished excavation by Lo Porto; see Marazzi-Tusa, *Interrelazioni*, cit. in note 11, 84.

[32] An attempt at reconstructing the stratigraphy was made by R. Peroni, *Archeologia della Puglia preistorica*, Roma 1967, 94-95.

the site is the most important known trading station of the region with a continuity until the very end of the Mycenaean age and also with close links with Northern Italy. As we have seen for the Aeolian Islands, the existence of a real Mycenaean settlement on this site seems highly improbable.

The nearby sites of Porto Perone and Satyrion lie on either side of a small peninsula with two good mooring places[33]. They are characterized as sites of Apennine culture. The earlier one, Porto Perone, preserves traces of early contacts with the Aegean. After an abandonment identified through a gap in the stratigraphy, the place was re-occupied together with the nearby Satyrion at a later date. Imports are abundant and belong to Mycenaean III B and to all the phases of Mycenaean III C. Both the technical and stylistic aspects of this latest imported pottery seem to show similarities with the latest Mycenaean pottery from the Ionian Islands. This allows the possibility, therefore, of reconstructing another pattern of trade involving perhaps only the Adriatic area[34].

Apart from these important sites on the shores of the gulf of Taranto there are a few inland finds such as those from Surbo, Oria, Avetrana and a relevant number of find-spots on the Adriatic coast, unfortunately only partially excavated and published[35].

Calabria

Excavations at the recently discovered site of Broglio di Trebisacce, near Sybaris, brought to light more than a dozen Mycenaean sherds, datable to Mycenaean III A-III B.

The site is the first stratified, open-air settlement in Calabria, belonging to the Apennine Bronze Age.

Sardinia

The study of links between Sardinia and the Aegean has been based until now mostly on metallurgical evidence.

Some sherds of Mycenaean III B date, allegedly found near Orosei, may shed new light on the problem if the circumstances of their finding will be made clear[36].

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[33] Lo Porto, *Not. Scavi*, 1963, 280-380; Id., *Not. Scavi*, 1964, 177-279.

[34] Vagnetti, "Il bronzo finale", cit. in note 29, with bibliography.

[35] A complete list with bibliography in Marazzi-Tusa, "Interrelazioni", cit. in note 11. Among the imports a sword of Mycenaean manufacture is of outstanding importance; E. Macnamara, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 36, 1970, 241-260.

[36] The sherds are of clandestine origin and the exact site of finding has not been located.

The copper ingots of Aegean shape found at Serra Ilixi and Sant'Antioco di Bisarcio have long been known, and some more fragments of ingots of the same shape have been recognized recently[37].

Sardinian metallurgy displays several interesting links with the Aegean and Cyprus during the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., although it is hard to decide what is imported and what is locally made on foreign models. Apart from the ingots, one cannot help noting some intriguing pieces, which imitate Cypriote examples, such as the hook-tanged daggers from Ottana and the small tripod from Santadi[38]. These artifacts can be taken as representative of the ambiguous cultural situation of the island in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Northern Italy

A Mycenaean sherd, possibly of III C date, found at Frattesina Polesine and another one found at Fondo Paviani near Legnago open new perspectives on Mycenaean trade with Northern Italy[39]. They are isolated finds in Late/Final Bronze Age contexts and in the present state of knowledge can be placed in relation to the trade that certainly took place between Northern Italy and Apulia along the Adriatic coast. Another Mycenaean sherd recently found at Trezzano, on the Tronto river, in the province of Ascoli Piceno, could be a further trace of this hand-to-hand trade which, most likely, had one of its main centres at Scoglio del Tonno[40].

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[37] N.F. Parise, *Atti e Memorie del I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, I, Roma 1968, 117-133 (with bibliography); M. S. Balmuth-R. F. Tylecote, "Ancient Copper and Bronze in Sardinia: Excavations and Analysis", *Journ. Field Arch.*, 3, 1976, 194-201; J. D. Muhly-T. Stech Wheeler-R. Maddin, "The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck and the Bronze Age Metals Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean", *Journ. Field Arch.*, 4, 1977, 353-362. Some new fragments of Aegean ingots have been found or published recently: from Albucciu *Boll. Arte*, 52, 1967, 203-4; several fragments in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Nuoro, *Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico*, Sassari 1978, pl. 25, 56. See also the beautiful pair of tongs of Cypro-Levantine type *ibid.*, pl. 27:2.

[38] Ottana: F. Lo Schiavo, *Sardegna centro-orientale*, cit. in note 37, 75-79, pls. 23-24; Santadi: G. Lilliu, *Estudios dedicados a L. Pericot García*, Barcelona 1973, 283-307. Another fragmentary tripod of the same type coming from Santa Vittoria in Paulis is unpublished in the British Museum.

[39] I have been able to examine the sherd from Frattesina through the kindness of Dr. A.M. Bietti Sestieri, who directed the excavation of that site. The sherd from Fondo Paviani was found together with mixed material of Late/Final Bronze Age; see L. Vagnetti, "Un frammento di ceramica micenea da Fondo Paviani (Legnago)", *Boll. Mus. Civ. Storia Nat. Verona*, 6, 1979, 599-610.

[40] Mentioned by Prof. D. Lollini during the 21st meeting of the Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria (Florence 1977).

Conclusions on finds in Central Italy

The short summary outlined in the preceding pages, based on purely archaeological evidence, identifies three main phases in Mycenaean trade towards the West:

1) The beginning (16th-15th centuries). A few sherds testify the initial trading activity of the Mycenaeans, who were emerging as a dominating group in mainland Greece [41]. The concentration of imports on the gulf of Taranto and on the Aeolian Islands corresponds to two among the main places that maintained contact with the Aegean for a long time.

2) The zenith (14th-13th centuries). Mycenaean finds are abundant along the coast of Apulia, eastern Sicily and the Aeolian Islands. This period corresponds to the maximum expansion of Mycenaean civilisation in the Aegean, when settlements were founded in the Dodecanese and an enormous quantity of goods was circulating in the Levant and in Egypt [42]. In Italy there are at least three places that may claim to be permanent ports-of-call, perhaps with some people of Mycenaean origin living on the spot. They are Scoglio del Tonno, Thapsos and Lipari. However, during the 13th century the Aeolian Milazzese culture collapsed and Lipari seems to lose its pre-eminent role, perhaps in favour of the Phlegraean Islands, as the new evidence from Vivara seems to indicate.

In this second period, in spite of the abundance of imported objects, the influence exercised on local culture is very limited. One certainly cannot talk in terms of imported culture. The most intriguing point is the nature of the settlement of Thapsos, which recalls Aegean models, but apparently has very little Mycenaean pottery inside its buildings [43].

Another point requiring more study and data is the existence of a local impasto pottery decorated with painted bands at Vivara, which might be the result of overseas influence.

3) The slow decline (12th-11th centuries). The turn of the 13th and 12th centuries is a crucial date for Mycenaean civilisation. Many destruc-

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[41] For a general survey of overseas contacts during the earliest phases of the Mycenaean civilisation see O. T. P. Dickinson, *The Origin of Mycenaean Civilisation*, Göteborg 1977, 101-106.

[42] F. H. Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge 1951; V. Hankey, "Mycenaean Pottery in the Middle East", *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, 62, 1967, 107-147; Ead., "The Aegean Deposit at El Amarna", *The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Nicosia 1973, 128-136.

[43] However, the chronology of the settlement is not yet defined, and the rectangular buildings of "Aegean type" around the paved courtyard may belong to the following period.

tions took place in the Aegean and in the Near East and Mycenaean settlers spread in peripheral areas [44]. The state was no longer able to support long-distance trade; nevertheless some connections continued along the well-known sea routes, perhaps with the participation of Cypriote elements [45]. This situation is clearly reflected in the distribution of Mycenaean imports in Italy. They are scattered over a wide area, but rarely do they consist of more than a few sherds. Only sites around Taranto may claim continuity in trade, possibly on a short-distance basis (Ionian Islands, Western Peloponnese).

The significance of the Aegean finds in Central Italy, considered in this context, may be evaluated in the light of Aegean history and of the local Italian situation [46].

First of all it is obvious that the sites that can claim direct contact with Mycenaeans are on the sea, in places with good mooring possibilities. Small islands and peninsulas seem to have been preferred, perhaps because reconnaissance was easier. The middle Tyrrhenian coast between Circeo and Argentario, flat and marshy to a large extent, does not offer these conditions. The few sherds and scraps of metal found in this region come from inland sites; they belong to late period 2 and to period 3, when the role of Vivara seems to have been very important and Sardinia emerged as a metallurgical centre. Although one cannot exclude that some Mycenaean ships reached the coast of Latium at various times and left the sherds found at Luni, Monte Rovello and San Giovenale and the bronzes of the Piediluco-Contigliano hoards as testimony of their visits, the archaeological evidence known to-day seems in favour of a trade organized along shorter distances.

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[44] P. Ålin, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*, Lund 1962; V. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford 1964; N.K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, London 1978.

[45] After 1200 B.C. groups of people from Greece settled in Cyprus; H. W. Catling, "The Achaean Settlement of Cyprus", *The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Nicosia 1973, 34-39. One cannot forget that in this latest phase some significant objects of doubtless Italian origin find their way to Greece. Among the most important are the axe mould from Mycenae (F. H. Stubbings, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, 49, 1954, 297-298) and a wheel-headed pin from Argos (J. Deshayes, *Argos Les fouilles de La Deiras*, Paris 1966, 203, pl. 24:2). A vessel from Lefkandi in Euboea is very close to Subapennine prototypes (M. Popham-L. H. Sackett, *Excavations at Lefkandi*, London 1968, fig. 34). However, the origin of the hand-made pottery of Mycenaean III C date has been the subject of many recent discussions (J. Rutter, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 79, 1975, 17-32; K. Kilian, "Nordwestgriechische Keramik aus der Argolis und ihre Entsprechungen in der Subapennin-Facies", *Atti XX Riun. Scient. Ist. It. Preist. Prot.*, Firenze 1978, 311-320).

[46] R. Peroni, "Zur jungbronzezeitlichen Besiedlung und Kultur im westlichen Mittelitalien", *Jahresb. Inst. Vorg. Frankfurt*, 1975, 33-45.

At the moment no imports later than Mycenaean III B are known at Vivara and only a few III C sherds have been found at Lipari. Therefore it is impossible to determine the main trading station for the Tyrrhenian area after the beginning of Mycenaean III C [47].

A trade route joining the Southern and Central Tyrrhenian is documented by local material distributed along the coast and inland [48]. A stone anchor found some years ago off the mouth of the Tiber provides very interesting evidence of this trade route. It belongs to a type well known in the 2nd millennium B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean and very frequent along the shores of Cyprus. However, the material of which the anchor is made is volcanic rock from the area of Puteoli, a fact of particular significance in the light of the archaeological evidence discussed above [49].

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Mycenaean I	c. 1550-1500 B.C.
Mycenaean II	1500-1425 B.C.
Mycenaean III A 1-2	1425-1300 B.C.
Mycenaean III B	1300-1200 B.C.
Mycenaean III C 1	1200-1075 B.C.
Mycenaean III C 2 (Submycenaean)	1075-1025 B.C.

The present writer is aware of the discussion about the validity of this chronological scheme, especially about the division and absolute chronology of the latest phases. The existence of a Submycenaean period chronologically differentiated from the Mycenaean III C 1 period is now in doubt and the whole problem needs a thorough study. However, this conventional chronology is sufficient to give an idea to the general reader.

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[47] Further research on the Phlegraean Islands might give evidence for later occupation. One must of course remember that archaeological research can produce completely new results. Until a few years ago Vivara was shown on the distribution map of Mycenaean imports in Italy as a minor site (two sherds only). During three campaigns more than eighty Mycenaean sherds have been found placing the site in a completely new perspective.

[48] This is demonstrated above all by metal types: Bietti Sestieri, "Metal Industry", cit. in note 12.

[49] L. Quilici, «Un'ancora del tardo bronzo alle foci del Tevere», *Arch. Class.*, 23, 1971, 1-11. On this type of anchors and their diffusion: H. Frost, *Rep. Dep. Ant. Cyprus*, 1970, 14-24.

Addendum. Recent excavations at Otranto, in southern Apulia, have brought to light a few Mycenaean sherds.

M.L. Ferrarese Ceruti, "Ceramica micenea in Sardegna (Notizia preliminare)", *Riv. Sc. Preist.*, 34, 1979 (publ. 1980), 243-253, reports the extremely important find of remnants of more than one hundred Mycenaean vessels of different shapes, stratigraphically associated with nuraghic pottery, in the nuragh of Antigori near Sarroch (Cagliari), where she supposes there might have existed an emporium connected with metal trade in the Mycenaean III B - III C periods.

It was not possible to insert these sites in the distribution map at proof stage.

Fig. 11. List of sites on the distribution map (see opposite page).

The interrogation mark refers to unpublished materials, quoted in publications or in public lectures, not directly examined by the present author. The interrogation mark on the map refers to uncertain provenance.

1. San Giovenale
2. Luni sul Mignone
3. Monte Rovello
4-4a. Piediluco-Contigliano
5. Vivara
6. Ischia
7. Paestum
8. Polla
9. Arzachena (Nuraghe Albucciu)
10. Ossi (Sa Mandra 'e Sa Giua)
11. Ozieri (S. Antioco di Bisarcio)
12. Orosei
13. Lanusei (Perda 'e Floris)
14. Tertenìa (Nuraghe Nastasi)
15. Nuragus (Serra Ilixi)
16. Assemini (?)
17. Capoterra (?)
18. Filicudi
19. Salina
20. Lipari
21. Panarea
22. Molinello
23. Thapsos
24. Matrensa
25. Cozzo del Pantano
26. Floridia
27. Buscemi
28. Pantalica
29. Serra Orlando
30. Cannatello (?)
31. Agrigento
32. Milena
33. Caldare
34. Broglio di Trebisacce
35. Scoglio del Tonno
36. Porto Perone - Satyrion
37. Torre Castelluccia
38. Avetrana
39. Porto Cesareo (?)
40. Surbo
41. Punta Le Terrare
42. Torre Santa Sabina
43. S. Cosimo d'Oria
44. Giovinazzo
45. Bari (?)
46. Trani (?)
47. Coppa Nevigata
48. Manaccore
49. Trezzano (?)
50. Frattesina
51. Fondo Paviani

Adige

Po

5

Arno

Tevere

Tronto
49

4
4a
2
3

46

48

4
46 4' 44

4
36 43 41
4   40
38
37   39

34

Ofanto

Bradano

Crati

9

8

6

18 19 21

8 9

10
1 12

13

15 14

16

17

Plituro

3 32
40
31

29
26 24
21 25 23
An Di
28
2   2 <4

● pottery
★ bronzes
■ ingots

20 40 75 co

0 20 50   km

GENERAL INDEX

The abbreviations *Lat.*, *Gr.* and *Myc.* are added only when the forms concerned (and in the case of Greek and Mycenaean also alphabet or transcription) are not sufficient to show which language they belong to. Vowel quantities and asterisks are usually omitted. Greek forms are listed according to the Latin alphabetic order (thus ε η = *e* etc., ϑ = *th*, ξ = *ks*, ϸ — *r*, φ = *ph*, χ = *kh*, ϝ = *v*).

PLATE I

1-5. Mycenaean sherds from Luni sul Mignone. 6. Sherd of Mycenaean type from San Giovenale.

PLATE II
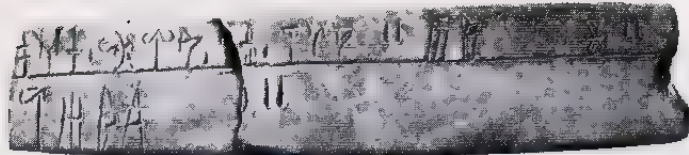
1
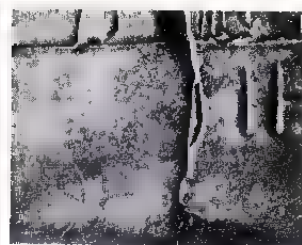
2

3

4
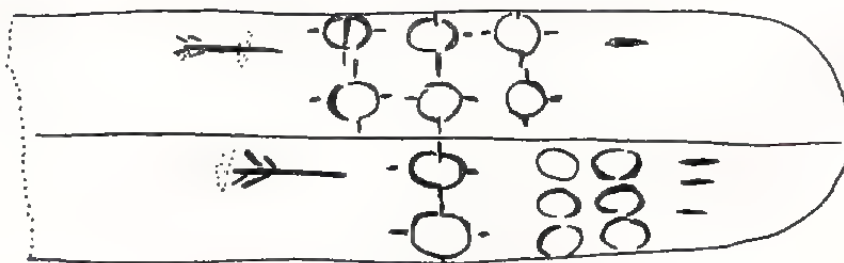
5

1. Tablet PY Ta 716.   2. The ideogram SWORD of PY Ta 716, line 2.   3-4. Clay sealing from Knossos KN Ws 8495 (cf. Fig. 4).   5. Tablet KN R 4482.

PLATE III

Hoard of bronze arrow-heads from Room 100 of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.

PLATE IV

'The Bard at the Banquet', fresco in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.

PLATE V

Hut urn from Tomb I of Campofattore (Marino, Alban Hills).
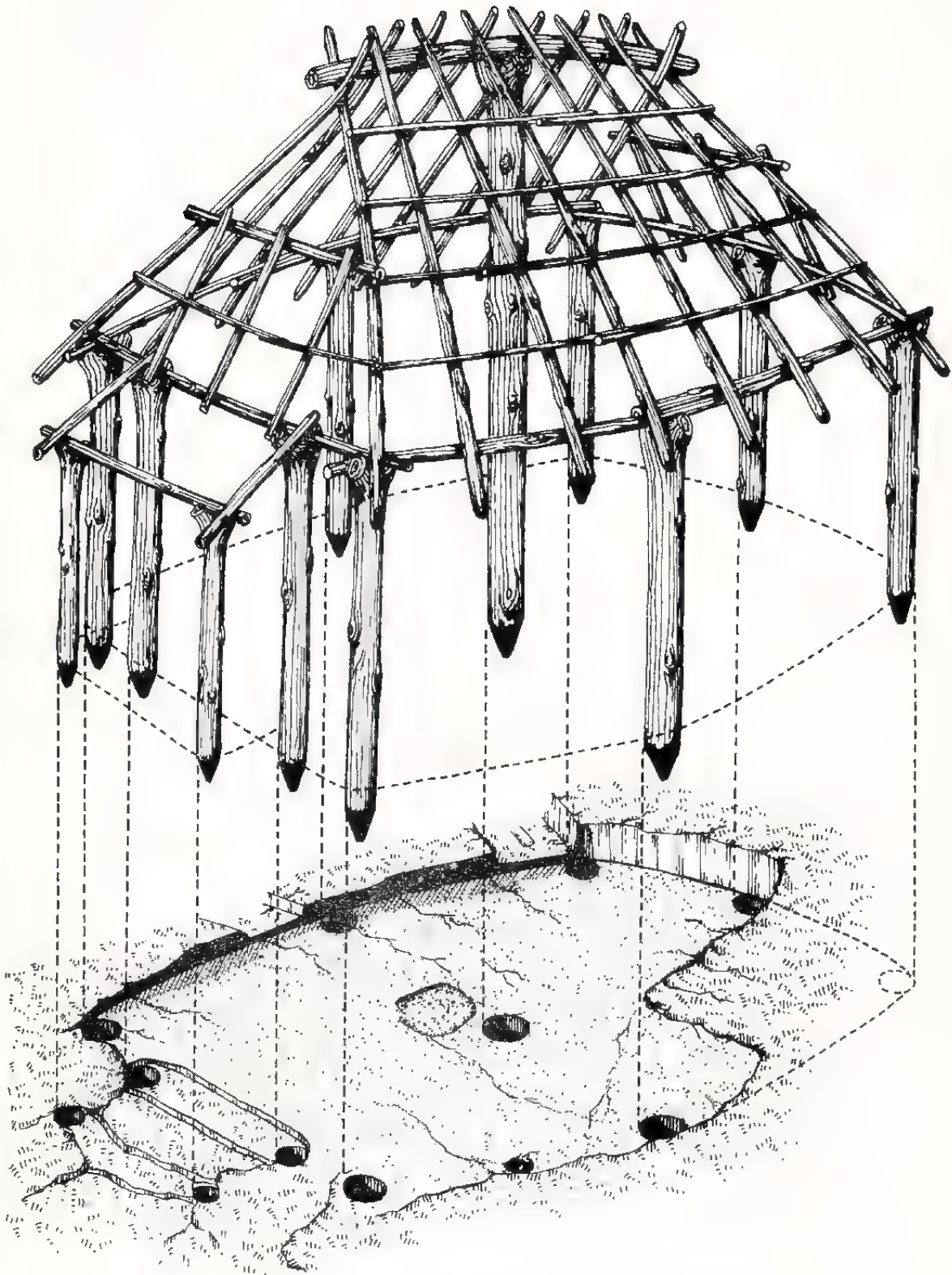
PLATE VI

Reconstruction of an Early Iron Age hut of the Palatine (cf. Fig. 7 and 8).

PLATE VII

PLATE VIII
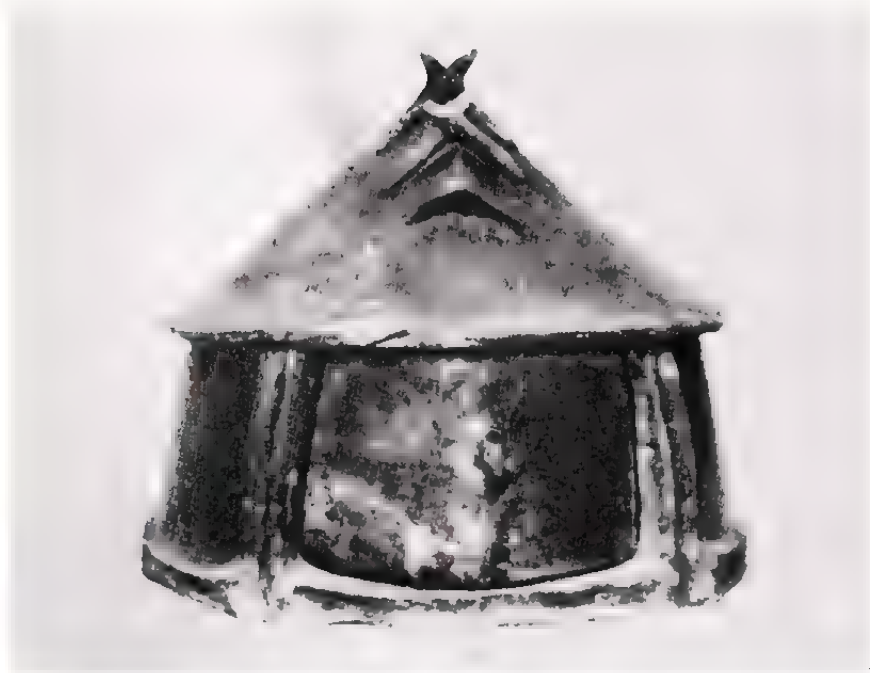
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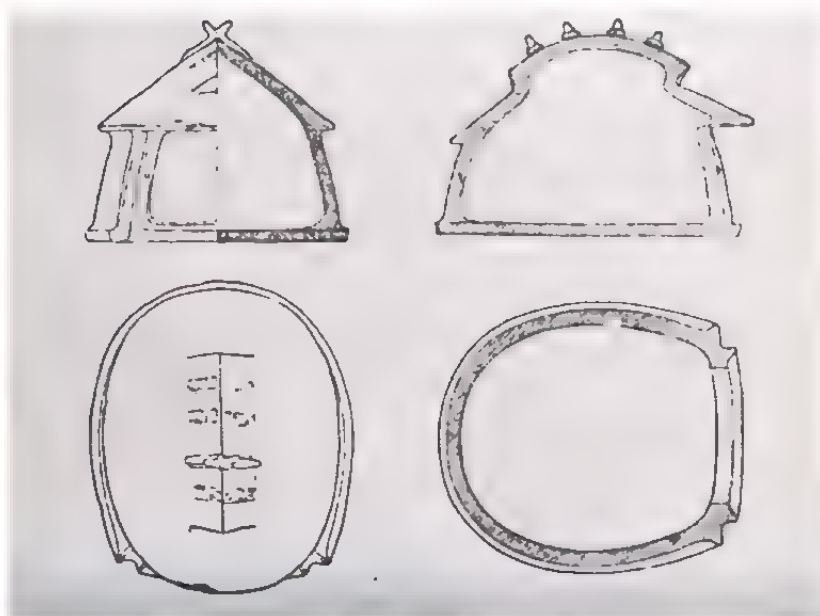
2

1. Hut urn from Tomb Q of the Forum. Four pairs of covering poles modelled separately have been applied astride the ridge (cf. 2). At each end of the horizontal beam indicated on the top of the roof a triangular cavity represents the vent-hole. 2. View and sections of the same urn.
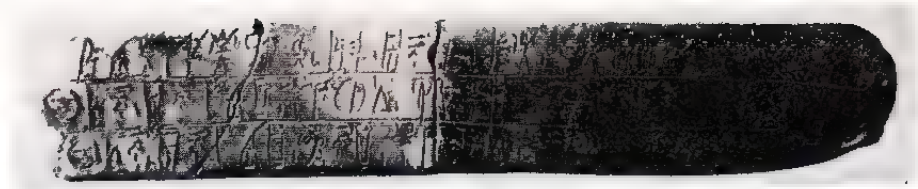
PLATE IX
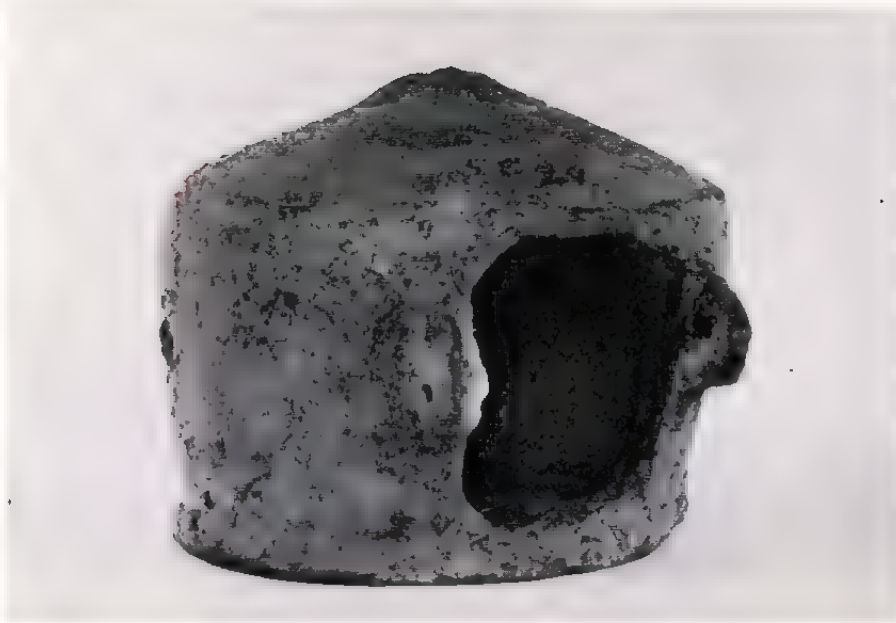
1

2

1. Terracotta hut model from Phaistos.   2. Hut urn from Tomb VIII of Villa Cavalletti (Grottaferrata, Alban Hills).

PLATE X

1

2

1. Tablet PY Ta 711.   2. Rhyton of painted clay from the Little Palace
   of Knossos.

PLATE XI

1-2. Mycenaean figurines from Scoglio del Tonno. 3. Terracotta figurine of local manufacture from Scoglio del Tonno.
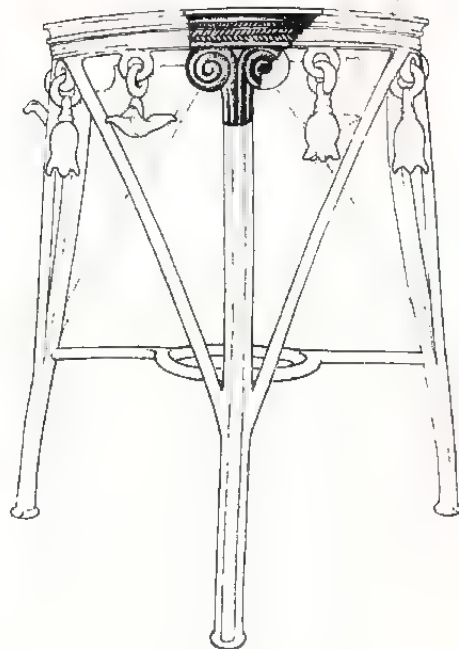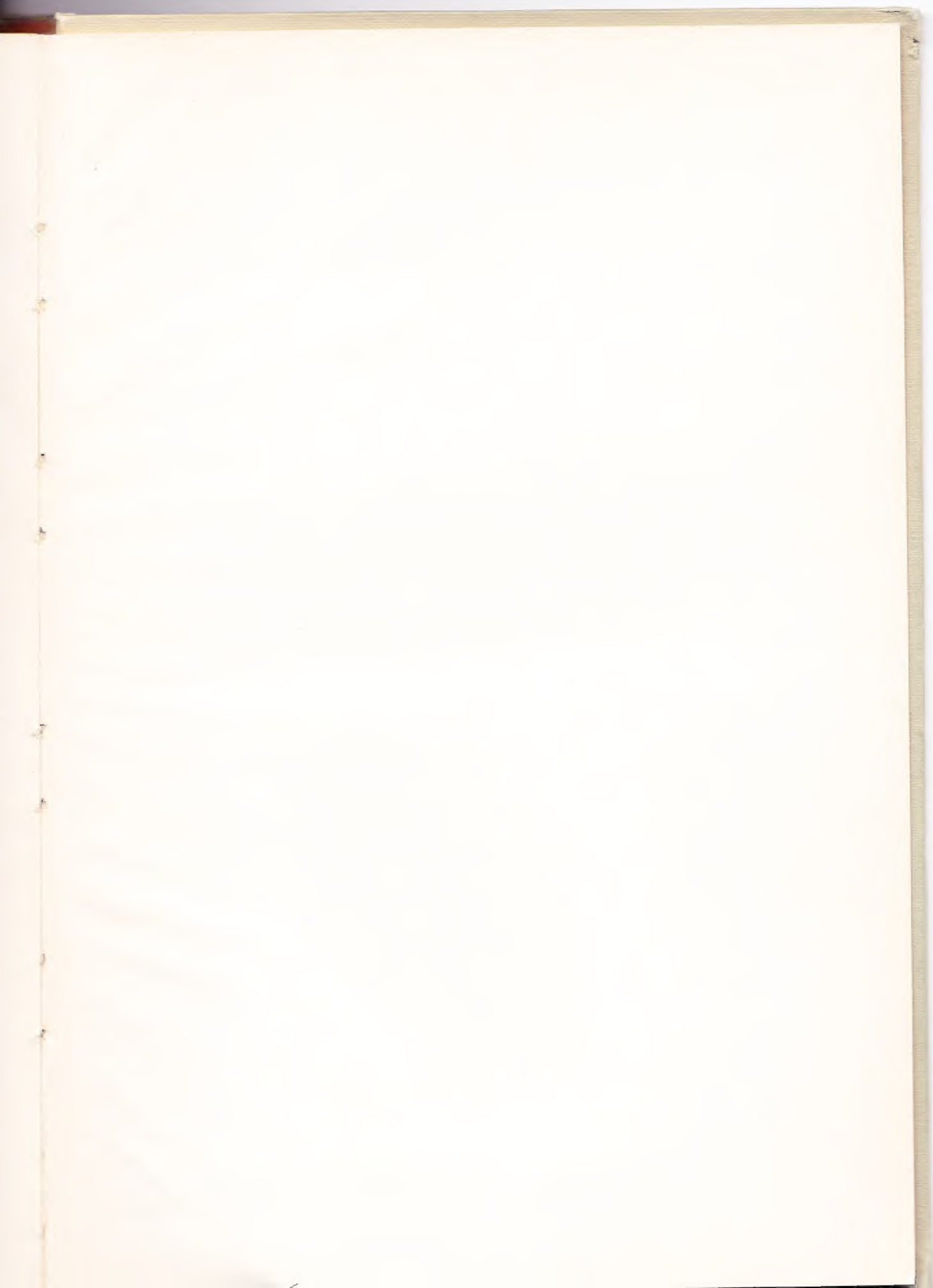
PLATE XII

1-3. Aegean and Cypriote bronze objects from the Piediluco-Contigliano hoard. 4. Reconstruction of a tripod of Cypriote type after a second fragment of the same provenance.